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QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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No. 412.

JULY,

1907.

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July, 1907.

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The Quarterly Review Charities Advertiser.

July, 1907.

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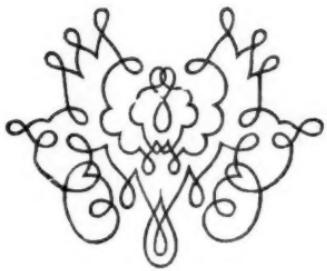
£5,000 has to be raised every year to make good the difference between assured income and necessary expenditure.

The Hospital is the oldest and largest Children's Hospital as well as the leading Medical School for Children's Diseases in the United Kingdom.

The Hospital should have first claim on all who care for children.

STEWART JOHNSON,

Secretary.



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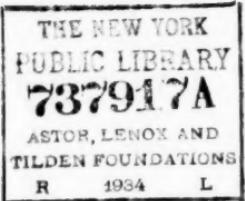
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IN international naval politics, particularly when a Peace Conference is in progress, it is well to face the facts fairly and squarely. A few months ago the English-speaking world was led to look forward to the assembly at The Hague as the precursor to the millennium, when all the great Powers would conspire together to assuage the horrors of war and lift something at least of the burden of 'bloated armaments' from the shoulders of the civilised peoples of the world. British 'Dreadnoughts' were to be offered up on the altar of peace, as though British supremacy afloat had not been for a century the supreme steadyng influence in Europe, the bulwark against the aggression of ambitious forces, and the shield of the lesser nations of the world. If we may judge from past experience and from recent official utterances in various

quarters abroad, the Peace Conference will be a disappointment to those sentimental politicians who have persisted in rearing fairy castles on no more solid foundations than their own perfervid speeches, speeches which have already done much to excite suspicion and cause world-wide uneasiness.

Is it in the interests of peace that anything should be done to make warfare less repulsive, or even to render private property immune from capture? The prospect of war in its horrible primeval nakedness, with all its consequences to owners of all kinds of property, is one of the main factors in preserving peace. Is there, again, any reason to think that such combined *pourparlers* by the great naval and military Powers are calculated to promote even a limitation of armaments, desirable as such an end would be? The last Conference justifies no such hope. The Powers last met at The Hague in 1899. Far from contributing to a lessened expenditure on naval armaments, the pace was immediately quickened and the rivalry increased. In the succeeding five years the British Navy estimates rose by seven and a half millions,* because the Government of that day patriotically refused to abandon the traditional two-Power standard of strength in the face of unparalleled activity in foreign shipyards.

On the other hand, between 1899 and 1905, the expenditure on the French, German, Russian, Italian, and the United States fleets increased by no less than 24,345,691*l.* In these five years France and Italy augmented the outlay on their fleets by only about half a million sterling each; Russia's expenditure increased by upwards of four millions; Germany's by over four and a half millions, and that of the great American democracy by 14,604,036*l.* If this naval expansion was not the direct result of the mutual suspicions excited by the deliberations of the Peace Conference, at least it occurred after a mass of beatific platitudes had been exchanged at The Hague by the chosen diplomatists of the world.

Another Peace Conference has opened. Russia no longer possesses a fleet; we are in alliance with the people of Japan, who are busy digesting their costly victory; we are on terms of the most cordial friendship with France,

* 'Naval Expenditure' (principal naval Powers), White Paper, No. 310.

the United States, and Italy ; and our relations with Germany may be termed strictly correct. The only two nations whose naval expenditure continues to increase rapidly are the United States and Germany ; and the only country whose expenditure has contracted is Great Britain. In three years the British people have economised to the extent of upwards of eight millions sterling on their navy, while in the same period American expenditure has been swollen by about seven and three quarter millions sterling, and that of Germany by about three millions sterling. While not omitting to note the steady effort on the other side of the Atlantic to create a great fleet, for which, owing to economic causes, a heavy price must be paid, it behoves the British people to watch with cautious concentrated attention the trend of German naval ambitions and the growth of German sea-power, if merely because only a streak of three or four hundred miles of water separates Great Britain from the advanced war station of the German fleet. In face of another Peace Conference, precedent warns us to stand on guard. The growth of Germany as a great naval Power and a future rival on the seas to Great Britain is the dominating factor in the international outlook. It is a matter of deep concern that, just when, in the face of the most serious emergency threatening British defence policy, the whole British people should be united and alert, a Government out of sympathy with the best-informed opinion of the country should be in power. It is still more unfortunate that this Administration should be supported by a section of the press which gives least attention to the bearing of foreign affairs upon home politics, and in ignorance—assumed or real—of what is occurring abroad, attempts to paint roseate pictures of an early day when war shall be no more. The Radical press, in its pursuit of what it describes as the cause of peace, persists in misrepresenting the international situation, and by suppressing the facts refuses to permit its readers to know the whole truth.

In the news columns of a journal, whatever its political opinions, the facts should be fairly and fully stated. At one time this was the standard of English journalism, but unhappily it has been deserted by a large section of the press which gives support to the Government. In

no particular is this defect more conspicuous than in the manner in which persistent efforts have been made to suppress news and opinion not in accord with the peace-at-any-price policy which the Prime Minister and his colleagues have borrowed, with appropriate acknowledgments, from the Cobden Club. To judge from the Radical press, it might be imagined that the German people regard us with feelings of delight and affection; that they are busily engaged in the task of more than doubling the strength of their fleet merely with the innocent intention of promoting international sport on the waters; and that the men-of-war they are equipping are intended to engage in ocean races, held with the sole object of promoting closer sympathy between the two peoples and drawing them closer together in the bonds of friendship. The result of this mistaken, if not dishonest policy of suppressing the essential facts with reference to German ambitions is that a large section of the public have adopted a mistaken view of German aspirations, and are serenely ignorant of the real and disturbing factors which can be ignored by us only at the cost of grievous national peril.

A great deal has appeared in the Radical press with reference to what has been described as the 'peace movement' in Europe; and declarations by unimportant personages on the Continent in favour of disarmament have been issued broadcast, as though they contained explanations of national policy. It can be fully admitted that the international naval situation at this moment is generally less unfavourable to Great Britain than it has been for many years past. But this has not been due to the peaceful influence of democratic opinion upon the declarations and acts of rival Powers. The area of naval activity has been considerably circumscribed. The Spanish fleet was practically annihilated in the war with the United States; the Russian Navy was almost destroyed in the struggle with Japan; M. Pelletan, the former socialistic Minister of Marine in France, inflicted injuries upon the French fleet hardly less serious than those which it might have suffered in a conflict against an enemy.

These events have been reflected in the appropriations for the British fleet during the past three years. The reductions in war strength by Spain, Russia, and France

were in no measure due to that great uprising of the democracies against the burdens of naval armaments of which we have heard so much from the Prime Minister and the newspapers which follow his lead—or lead him, it is difficult to decide which. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was fortunate in succeeding to office at a moment when war had reduced the number of potential enemies, and when the late Government had built up a supreme fleet, and by its wise diplomacy had drawn close the bonds of sympathy between Great Britain and four of the greatest Powers of the world. During the Unionist regime a defensive alliance was formed with Japan; a period of cordial friendship with the United States was inaugurated; the *entente cordiale* was cemented with France; and by tactful and conciliatory words and actions wounded Russian susceptibilities were healed. The present Government has no claim to any credit for this widespread improvement in the international situation. It was not effected by a cringing policy of disarmament or by vapid speeches, but was carried out by strong diplomatic action supported at every point by a fleet adequate to repel aggression. Cobden Club policy, which has already led to some weakening of French attachment to this country, is based fundamentally upon weakness afloat and ashore. The aim of this egregious organisation is to preach peace by misrepresentation and suppression of essential facts in order to delude the British people into the crowning folly of reducing the extent of their naval and military preparations which in the past have enabled us to maintain our position in the world and command the respect of those who in our weakness would not have hesitated to strike.

At a moment when light-hearted sentimental apostles of peace are spreading far and wide stories of the movement of the peoples of the world towards an era of general disarmament, we are actually witnessing a fresh development in the contest for military power afloat. In Europe we are faced with the spectacle of Russia busy in planning the rehabilitation of her fleet; and British shipyards are even assisting in the task under our very eyes. France, in spite of industrial and financial difficulties, is engaged upon a new naval programme with a view to regaining her position as the second great naval Power of

the world. The Secretary to the Navy of the United States has successfully urged Congress to double the provision already made for the building of battleships of the first class. Japan is devoting all her energies and possibly more of her substance than is wise to the creation of a fleet of 'Dreadnoughts.' Even Italy is struggling to rise superior to the conditions which hamper her, and has embarked upon new engagements for the fleet. Lastly, there is the spectacle of Germany, which has for years past bent all her energies to the upbuilding of a great fleet, within a comparatively few hours' steaming of the least protected entrance of the United Kingdom.

We do not refer to these tendencies in an alarmist mood. The story of the ships projected by foreign Powers is important to us not as bearing upon our own immediate shipbuilding activities, but as an indication of the trend of public opinion in great democracies like the United States and France, not less than in monarchical countries such as Russia, Italy, and Germany. As has already been explained in a former number of the 'Quarterly Review,' the provision made on the advice of the Sea-lords of the Admiralty for new ships for the fleet is not inadequate in the existing standards of sea strength abroad. The effort to engineer an entirely fatuous and economically unsound agitation against the reduced British programme by attaching exaggerated importance to foreign 'paper' programmes has failed, as in view of the facts and figures now available to the general public in the 'Naval Annual' and published at the time in the 'Quarterly Review,' it was bound to fail. But the fact that all these great Powers are engaged in plans for piling up increased armaments completely disposes of the ignorant picture of the dawning of a period of peace circulated by the Radical press.

Nevertheless we do not believe that this recently renewed activity necessarily portends a great conflict in which the Powers of the world will be ranged in deadly antagonism. It is more reasonable to think that it is due mainly to the influence and terrible results of the late wars. The economical effects of the Spanish-American campaign, of the South African war, and even the struggle between Russia and Japan on the other side of the world, have been felt by every man, woman, and child in Europe

as in the United States and Japan. The financial equilibrium has been rudely disturbed, the bourses are agitated and nervous. Most of the necessaries of life, down to boots and shoes, which the poor must buy, are dearer because Russia forced Japan to fight for her independence. These wars have taught enlightened men to prize highly the blessings of peace, while at the same time they have been led to look round them and estimate the influences which make for war. No impartial observer on either side of the Atlantic is ignorant of the fact that behind the brooding silence which has followed upon the war in the Far East there are disturbing whispers from one part of Europe; and it is these distant rumblings of struggles for territorial conquest and, even more imminent, for economic advantages, which have driven peace-loving peoples like the French, the Italians, and Americans in particular to lay out vast sums in preparing to defend themselves against aggression.

It is no exaggeration to say that the one great disturbing influence of the world to-day is Germany. This power for evil lies not merely in the economic condition of its crowded population and the aims and ambitions in which it has been nurtured, but in the system under which its armaments are centralised under the supreme control of one man—the German Emperor—who himself has declared that he is the War-lord. At this moment the German peoples are seeking fresh fields for the settlement of their surplus population, and fresh markets for bartering their industrial products. Over and over again the German Emperor has opposed his Imperial will to emigration outside the flag; and he has led his people to believe that, if they follow his lead, they may by diplomacy or force of arms acquire a land of promise where Germans will find wealth and happiness under the widespread wings of the Imperial eagle. With this end in view, the German Army has been augmented until to-day it occupies pride of place, not only in numbers, but in potential fighting power. The German Emperor inherited from his grandfather an army which had already acquired a war edge, and he also succeeded to a small fleet untried in the stern school of war. He has expressed his firm determination that, 'as my grandfather did for the Army,

so will I for the Navy carry out the work of reorganisation'; and his Majesty has announced that, when his schemes have been completed, 'we shall be able to impose peace on sea as well as on land.'

The German Navy is differentiated from all other navies in the world in that it is the personal instrument of the Imperial will. The Emperor is *de facto* and *de jure* the Commander-in-chief of the Imperial German Navy; and the Reichstag merely holds the purse-strings. The Emperor, with or without the advice of a complaisant Chancellor, may any morning decide that German interests are menaced and may press an electric button, which will send the fleet, massed at Kiel or even more likely at Wilhelmshaven, to sea prepared in every detail to fight. The ostensible reason for warlike action might have no real existence. It is conceivable that this action might be preceded by a declaration of war by only a few hours; or it might indeed be that Germany would feel herself so strong as to be able to dispense with this customary preliminary to hostilities. In any case the significant fact is that the German fleet is under the absolute control of the Kaiser, and is in no way subservient to the feelings of the German people or to the policy followed by this or that party in the Reichstag.

It needs no contortion of the imagination to picture circumstances in which the Emperor might actually press the button sending his fleet to sea for war. Presuming that this despatch of the fleet had not been preceded by international difficulties threatening the peace of the world or any declaration of war, will those who so persistently ignore the power of the blind promptings of patriotism which may seize a people—particularly that of the German Empire—believe that, once the ruler of Germany has thrown down the gage of battle in defence, or in aggressive furtherance of German influence, the population of the German States, mesmerised by dreams of conquest or wealth to be gained at the gun's mouth, would fail to give the Kaiser all the financial and moral support he might require? It may be said that there has never been such action as this in the past; but let those who preach peace in and out of season not forget the manner in which Bismarck justified the war of 1870 by distorting a despatch, and the combined ardour with

which the disunited German peoples in those days flung themselves into the warlike movement.

It may be said that this picture of a personal monarchy controlling the destinies of an empire and able to consolidate peace or make war is a mere figment of the imagination. At least it is not a figment of a British imagination; it is entirely German. The idea of secret preparations for war and a sudden attack upon a neighbour when that neighbour is unprepared and has had no special cause to stand on guard is a German invention which has been held up to the admiration of the German people not once or twice, but many times.

The latest exponent of this 'surprise-packet war' is the author of a brochure entitled 'Hamburg and Bremen in Danger.' The author is a retired naval captain named Hoepner; and his book has had a wide circulation among appreciative readers in Germany. Captain Hoepner supposes that Germany suddenly learns that a definite alliance between England and France is about to be ratified; and, in face of a policy which she believes aims at her isolation, the Emperor and his advisers consider whether the time has not arrived for taking some decisive action to assert German prestige as a world-Power. The author tells us that it is decided to take the initiative instantly. Orders are sent to the fleet directing it to proceed by night through the Kiel Canal and assemble at Heligoland. This movement is covered by a statement which is given out to the venal press to the effect that the fleet is merely proceeding to sea to carry out manœuvres which are to take place earlier than was previously arranged. On the 4th of May sixteen battleships, three armoured cruisers, and six small vessels, together with attendant torpedo craft—in fact the fleet as it exists to-day—pass through the Canal and are seen off Cuxhaven proceeding towards Heligoland. On the following day orders are quietly issued for the mobilisation of the whole naval force of the country, forts are manned, mine floats are laid down, buoys and beacons removed, and the reserve divisions of the fleet are placed on a war footing. We are presented with a picture of the German fleet being secretly placed on a war footing, and proceeding to attack Great Britain without the consent of any representative body. It is unnecessary

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to recall all the incidents of this imaginary war-story, because it differs in no respect from several which have been published on both sides of the North Sea. Sufficient to say that the German fleet takes the British naval force by surprise off Dover. A battle ensues and the British fleet is defeated and is only saved from annihilation by the timely arrival of a fleet flying the French flag. The author tells us with considerable elaboration how the secret war-plans were carried into execution without information transpiring of such activity in England or France. He represents the Imperial authorities suddenly and irrevocably shutting down all means of communication in Germany; and this is no very difficult matter, since the railways are State institutions, and the whole country is organised on a military basis.

It need hardly be added that this brochure has not written solely for the purpose of warning England or the views entertained by a section of Chauvinists; but, as the story works itself out, the author, whose object is to fire the enthusiasm of the German peoples for a great fleet, slowly reveals the inadequacy of the fleet of to-day for a sustained contest with the greatest naval Power of the world. England is represented as recovering from the first shock of Germany's surprise attack, after which, gathering together her great naval power, she strikes at Germany; and the small fleet which the German people has built up at so much sacrifice is practically annihilated. The author points his moral by showing how different might have been the result if only the Kaiser and his officers had been provided with more money, so as to enable them to equip a fleet which would have been in a position to follow up the first delirious success of the surprise attack with blows which would once and for ever have dethroned England from her supremacy of the seas. It is well not to forget that this booklet is not the effort of an irresponsible civilian but is a political tract emanating from a naval officer who is presumably reflecting the opinions of many of his class. This tale and that of 'Seestern' have the same end in view. They are intended to stimulate the German people to go on strengthening their fleet until it attains such a predominance even in relation to the British Navy that Germany may be able to 'impose peace on sea as well as on land.'

At the risk of repeating a story already familiar it may be recalled that, down to the time when the present Emperor ascended the throne, the German Navy was of practically no account. During the victorious campaign of 1870-1 the small fleet of the North German Confederation confined itself to purely defensive tactics; and at no moment was the naval power of France threatened. During the succeeding quarter of a century, though Bismarck and others spasmodically pleaded for a larger navy, little or nothing was done to provide for any considerable expansion; and, on the eve of William II becoming German Emperor, the expenditure upon the fleet amounted to less than two and a half millions sterling, in comparison with upwards of eight millions sterling expended on the French fleet, and total British estimates of nearly ten and a half millions sterling.¹ It is no exaggeration to say that the German fleet was reckoned of no importance as a fighting force twenty years ago; and during the next ten years naval enthusiasm in the German States was only very slowly aroused. On the other hand, the development in the last ten years has no parallel in modern history.

The progress of the naval movement is particularly fascinating to Englishmen, not only because Great Britain has for years claimed supremacy as a sea-Power, but by reason of the means which have been employed to excite in the German people an interest in the task of naval aggrandisement to which the German Emperor set his hand twenty years ago when he came to the throne, and was honoured by Queen Victoria with the unique distinction of appointment *à la suite* as the only foreign admiral of the fleet that the British Navy has ever possessed. The seed which is now bearing such abundant fruit may be said to have been sown during his Majesty's boyhood when he was a frequent visitor to England. During his residence in the Isle of Wight, either with his parents at Cowes or as a guest at Osborne House, he had many opportunities of becoming impressed with the objective influence exerted by the British fleet upon the character, aspirations, and ambitions of the British people, and upon the British Empire as an economic fact. But these early ideas do not seem to have taken any very definite form until August 1889, when, on the occasion of a naval review

at Spithead in his Majesty's honour, Queen Victoria gratified the Emperor's strong naval instincts by conferring upon him the rank of an honorary officer in her service. Almost uninterruptedly from that year his Majesty has devoted himself officially and unofficially through many channels to the education of his people in the influence of sea-power upon history. It is common knowledge that the Kaiser, having been inspired to action by the spectacle of British sea-power, became a diligent student of Captain Mahan's works and thus equipped himself to act as the prophet of *Weltpolitik* to his subjects. The task to which he set his hand made little headway at first, conducted as it was largely on historical grounds and without making any appeal to those international jealousies which seem always to lie latent among the great nations of the world. Down to 1896 the Reichstag continued to keep a firm hand upon expenditure; and the estimates for that year exceeded four millions sterling by only a few pounds. From this date began what may be regarded as the campaign of Imperial telegrams.

The foundation-stone of the German fleet may indeed be said to have been laid in 1895, when, on the occasion of the opening of the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal at Kiel, the great Powers by invitation, and foremost among them Great Britain, made a friendly demonstration in German waters. This event convinced the German people that they had been mistaken in refusing to listen to the Kaiser's urgent appeals for a greater navy. The assembly of foreign men-of-war revealed the solid fact that Germany was of little account as a naval Power; and beneath the stream of peaceful platitudes which marked the speeches upon this occasion there was not wanting throughout Germany an undercurrent of irritation at the comparatively poor display which the German Navy had been able to make. This peaceful demonstration soon bore fruit. At this time matters between Great Britain and the Transvaal were approaching a crisis; and in the following year, when the unhappy raid was undertaken, the Emperor speedily sent to President Kruger a telegram of congratulation. This Imperial act, coming so soon after the seemingly peaceful gathering at Kiel, roused the British people; and instantly a special service squadron was commissioned and sent to sea 'to go anywhere' and

do anything.' This proved to be one of the most expensive acts of statesmanship committed in this country. It served to emphasise all the lessons which the Kiel demonstration had instilled into the minds of the German people; and public opinion swung round in a frenzy of excitement in favour of the Kaiser's policy of aggrandisement. In the following year events in China illustrated the use to which a fleet can be put in the cultivation of *Weltpolitik*. German missionaries having been murdered, a German squadron—'the mailed fist'—landed a large force at Kiao-Chow and seized a *pied-à-terre* which has since been regarded by the Germans as the jumping-off point for their Chinese policy whenever the psychological moment arrives.

Thus in two years the German authorities were able to supply two effective illustrations of the influence of sea-power upon history. In the one case the German people were convinced that they had been brow-beaten by a naval Power beside whose strength their fleet was of insignificant proportions, and in the other they were reminded of the manner of employing a fleet in extending the Empire. The opportunity was immediately seized for action; and in the following year the Reichstag, which had hitherto been unsympathetic towards the Emperor's naval schemes, passed a Septennate Naval Act. Under this legislation the Reichstag voted all expenses for the navy for a period of seven years. It was a great achievement; but M. Weyl, in the 'Naval Annual,' noted that, in spite of the provision which had been made for a greatly increased outlay on the fleet, intended to rise in 1904-5 to nearly seven and a half millions sterling, 'Germany will still, after the programme is carried out, remain a second-rate maritime Power.' This writer, with singular prophetic vision, added that 'the adoption of a fixed standard of naval strength appears a strange idea when the difficulty of foretelling the future of naval science and the change which it brings about in naval material are borne in mind.' As a matter of fact, this Act never reached its fulfilment, because the reciprocal action of other Powers rendered it more or less negative in its influence. Events, however, conspired to encourage the authorities at Wilhelmstrasse to a renewed effort.

The telegram to President Kruger had given the

Emperor his first victory in Germany; and, three years later, the outbreak of war between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic enabled him to take another step forward. When German merchants busied themselves with supplying the Boers with war material, and the British fleet showed an inclination to interfere, the inspired German press was not slow in adorning the tale and pointing the moral; and, in the spring following the outbreak of hostilities, the Reichstag passed an Act covering a period of seventeen years and framed so as to provide Germany with 38 battleships, 20 large armoured cruisers, 38 scouting cruisers, and 144 torpedo-boats. The progress of the war in South Africa and the development of the pro-Boer movement in Germany inflamed the populations of the German States; and the opportunity was not lost of reminding them that Great Britain was able to pursue her war policy in South Africa only because her immense fleet conferred upon her absolute security against attack along the lines of communication of 6000 sea-miles. It is unnecessary to quote the series of telegrams by which the German Emperor himself assisted his schemes during the intervening years when the relations between Germany and Great Britain became increasingly strained. The whole campaign of the German press against everything British was skilfully utilised, with the result that in 1906 the Reichstag agreed to another Naval Act which increased the size of the battleships and armoured cruisers, added six to the number of the latter, and made provision for a great addition to the torpedo flotillas.

Behind this latest measure of the Reichstag lay hidden a series of secrets which were carefully kept from the electorate. The Navy Acts of 1898 and 1900 had proved complete failures, owing to the reasons stated by M. Weyl. The Germans had been unable to foresee the future progress of science, and the changes it would bring about in naval material. While their authorities, by the specific character of the naval measures passed by the Reichstag in 1898 and 1900, were tied down to ships of small size, slow speed, and comparatively insignificant gun-power, other Powers enjoying complete freedom in naval design were building and completing ships of far greater power. Consequently, in the autumn of 1905, when Great Britain

led the way in building one-calibre big-gun ships of the 'Dreadnought' type, the German Admiralty awoke to the fact that the money they were laying out in vessels of small size might almost as well be cast into the sea. Difficulties have arisen in Germany owing to the fact that last spring the Reichstag was suddenly called upon to increase the financial provision and agree to build ships of the biggest classes. But an Act was passed by which all the vessels, built or building, of the German fleet were rendered, to a great extent, obsolescent, while the Kiel Canal became too small for its strategical purpose in uniting the Baltic and the North Sea, the existing docks too cramped for general use, and existing harbours inadequate for a fleet conceived on such ambitious lines.

In view of the propaganda of the German Navy League, with its 300,000 members, avowedly Anglophobe and yet acting under the aegis of the Imperial Chancellor, it is not perhaps unnatural that the British people should feel a certain sense of nervousness when they are faced by the prospect of naval aggrandisement of an unparalleled character in northern waters. Within three or four hundred miles of the east coasts of England and Scotland a war fleet, at least numerically imposing, is being manoeuvred where, a dozen years ago, hardly a single man-of-war was seen from year's end to year's end. Germany as a naval Power is arriving, but she has not yet arrived. In spite of German effort—an effort which has thrown an immense burden upon the German people—the British Admiralty still hold the trump cards in the contest for naval supremacy; it is essential that they continue to hold them, and be ready to play them if need be. Admittedly, Germany has been defeated in her two initial efforts at naval aggrandisement—the Navy Acts of 1898 and 1900; and now we are at the commencement of a far more determined struggle, which will demand from the British people a measure of determination far exceeding anything which has been necessary in the past. Germany has been building inferior battleships, trusting to lethargy and inefficiency in the British or other fleets to compensate for the comparative poverty of her war material; she aimed at a cheap and efficient navy. Now that the British Admiralty has re-organised our fleet, and by attention to gun and other

essential drills has immensely improved its fighting efficiency, Germany has determined to build ships approximately as large and as powerful as those which are now being added to the British fleet, because she perceives that her existing small battleships are of little account.

This change of naval policy in Germany has, however, proved far more difficult and far more costly than was anticipated. The whole organisation of the navy for eight years had been built up to the measure of battleships of 13,000 tons and less, and armoured cruisers of about 9000 tons. At one step Germany is about to advance to battleships of 18,000 tons, and armoured cruisers as great or greater; and this necessitates the deepening of waterways, extension of docks, enlargement of workshops, armour factories, and gun-works, and a complete reconstruction of the Kiel Canal, the last-named representing an expenditure of eleven millions sterling, which will be met, not out of the Naval Votes, but from the funds of the Minister of the Interior; for the last work a bill has recently been submitted to the Reichstag. The change of policy indicated by this increase in the size and power of German ships may be revealed by comparing the cost of the vessels to be built between now and 1917 with the cost of those authorised hitherto:—

Total number of Ships to be built.	Cost of each new Ship.	Advance in cost in contrast with Ships built under the Act of 1900.
18 Battleships (Dreadnought type)	£ 1,825,000	+ 611,000
13 Large cruisers *	1,375,000	+ 416,500
24 Small cruisers	314,000	—
24 Torpedo-boat divisions . . .	443,500 (each division)	+ 83,000

* Since the Act of 1900, the German authorities have again increased the size of the proposed large armoured cruisers as a reply to the British 'Indomitable'; and this will result in additional expenditure of about half a million sterling in the case of each large cruiser.

In order to commend this scheme of further naval expansion to the German people, the Navy Acts are being financed in some measure by means of loans. Nearly an eighth of this year's outlay is thrown in this manner on future generations. By this expedient the German

Emperor and his advisers hope to gain the diplomatic advantage of a great fleet without unduly increasing the burden imposed upon the people. The present generation of Germans, who may marvel at this policy of obtaining a fleet to some extent on the hire-purchase system, are reminded that Germany's policy of to-day is based upon the requirements of the Empire to-morrow; and, as future generations will reap the harvest which the fleet is to secure, it is only right and proper, they are told, that the German peoples should thrust on the unborn millions of futurity some portion of the burden of cost of the instrument by which Germany intends to secure to herself a powerful influence on the world's seas and greater facility for encouraging and protecting the vast colonial and commercial enterprises which she has in view. This is the prospect with which the eyes of the German people have been dazzled. They believe that their future lies on the water; and if, as they are told, they can realise their wildest hopes without very greatly increasing their present financial burdens, they are willing to leave the future to take care of itself. Since Prince von Bülow became Imperial Chancellor in 1898, no less than 84,352,000*l.* has been spent on the fleet and of this 19,622,000*l.* has been raised by loans. Year by year the burden of naval debt grows. The work of naval aggrandisement goes forward, and the bills are being post-dated. The following statement shows the provision under the Act of 1906 for each year covered by this enactment, of which about eighteen and a half millions sterling is to be met by loans:—

Year.	Total Naval expenditure.	Increase from year to year.	Outlay to be covered by	
			Ordinary Revenue	Loans.
1907	13,696,000	1,106,000	11,061,500	2,634,500
1908	14,343,000	647,000	11,741,000	2,602,000
1909	15,367,500	1,024,500	12,542,000	2,825,500
1910	15,767,500	400,000	13,137,000	2,630,500
1911	16,017,500	250,000	13,719,000	2,298,500
1912	16,287,500	270,000	13,400,000	1,983,000
1913	16,387,500	95,000	14,832,500	1,550,000
1914	16,152,500	230,000	15,256,000	896,500
1915	16,222,500	70,000	15,686,500	536,000
1916	16,242,500	20,000	15,706,500	536,000
1917	16,492,500	250,000	16,057,000	44,550

Debts have a habit of coming home ; and a time comes in the affairs of all States, as of individuals, when promissory-notes must be honoured. In the case of the German fleet, it is anticipated that, before these loans press upon the subjects of the Kaiser, the fleet, by its influence, will have earned dividends besides which the proposed naval outlay will seem comparatively insignificant. If her dreams are realised, will Germany ever pay for her fleet ? She will go on raising by taxation a large sum, it is true, year by year for her naval projects ; but a portion of the increased burden is being carried over to a suspense account which might appropriately be labelled 'Imperial Policy.' German anticipations will be hopelessly adrift if the wherewithal to wipe out these naval loans and also to recoup the peoples of the German States for their sacrifices is not obtained from other than German pockets. It must not be forgotten that France paid all the debts of the German peoples incurred during the years when the plans for the Franco-German war were being matured. Who is to pay off the new debt, raised not only for the navy, but also for the colonies and for the Kiel Canal, which as a commercial undertaking has been a failure ?

The fact that such a scheme of naval aggrandisement is being worked out persistently and methodically opposite the least defended door of the United Kingdom is calculated to cause anxiety among the British people. It would, however, be the height of folly if this anxiety degenerated into irritability of temper and an illogical fever of jealousy. By no policy of pinpricks can the British people retard the progress of the German fleet. Every misrepresentation has been accepted in Berlin and throughout the German States as welcome ammunition with which to work up further enthusiasm in support of the naval movement. It is much better that the British nation should once and for all understand that it is no business of theirs what steps the German people may take for improving and increasing their naval defences, except so far as precautionary measures are rendered necessary. Germany's fleet, what she chooses to spend on it, and how she organises it, is not the business of the British people. We have what may be regarded as an historical

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policy, which is summed up in the two-Power standard ; and automatically the provision for the British fleet must rise in accordance with the developments of the two next greatest European Powers, which happen to be France and Germany. At present the standard casts no very grievous burden on the ratepayers of the British Isles, because Germany and France, owing to technical and other difficulties, have made little progress with new ships. There is a lull, which is temporary, but very welcome.

As for the recent reductions in our shipbuilding programme, it is now possible to view them in the light of subsequent events. It may be remembered that one 'Dreadnought' was eliminated from the programme of 1906-7; and that this year the Admiralty decided to drop yet another 'Dreadnought' in view of the delay which had occurred in carrying out foreign shipbuilding proposals. Nearly a year has elapsed since this announcement was made ; and during these twelve months little progress has been made in the construction of French and German battleships of last year's programme. The constructors of both countries have been faced by many intricate mechanical and other problems in designing ships to rival the 'Dreadnought.' Before the end of this summer, in addition to the 'Dreadnought' completed at the end of last year, we shall have launched three more ships of this type. Two more 'Dreadnoughts' will then be laid down, completing a group of six vessels. Presumably these two last men-of-war will be approximately of the same size and power as those about to be launched. We shall thus obtain a homogeneous fleet of six battle-units, without taking into account the seventh 'Dreadnought,' included provisionally in this year's shipbuilding programme on the understanding that it will not be laid down if the Hague Conference agrees to the universal limitation of armaments.

In this respect at least it is practically certain that the so-called Peace Conference will fail. In these circumstances will the Admiralty still persevere in its intention to lay down this seventh unit of the 'Dreadnought' type? If this vessel is begun, it will assuredly be approximately of the same size and power as the other 'Dreadnoughts'; and it will be put in hand at a moment when other nations, notably the United States and Japan,

are engaged in constructing ships of still larger size and undoubtedly more fighting power than the 'Dreadnought.' Unless the Admiralty decide that the construction of this seventh ship is urgently necessary, it would seem wiser to carry it over into next year's programme, and thus give the constructive staff at the Admiralty an opportunity of evolving a reply to the larger vessels which have been authorised for foreign fleets. Economically it is an error for the British Admiralty to build ships inferior to those which are being laid down abroad; and tactical and other arguments may be urged against adding a seventh ship to the 'Dreadnought' group.

The ultimate decision upon our programme depends very largely upon the progress in foreign shipyards; and on this matter all that can be said at present is that France, Germany, and the United States, to say nothing of Russia and Italy, are greatly in arrears. Fifteen months have elapsed since Congress directed the preparation of a design intended as a reply to the 'Dreadnought.' Early this year orders were given for two ships to be laid down in conformity with the plans prepared by the Naval Department; but the tenders for these two vessels have not yet been received.

So far as can be seen at present, the first ships of the 'Dreadnought' type for the German and French navies will not be ready for sea before the spring of 1910. At that date Germany and France will have two 'Dreadnoughts' each; while in the British fleet will be included six vessels corresponding to the 'Dreadnought,' besides the three battleship-cruisers of the 'Indomitable' type, each with a broadside of eight 12-inch guns. This being so, the wisest course would be to reconsider the 'Dreadnought' design in the light of recent experience and the knowledge now obtained of foreign designs, with the aim of making a more effective reply to the ships to be commenced for rival fleets. Technically and economically Great Britain, with her vast and unrivalled shipbuilding resources, has everything to gain by pursuing a cautious policy in shipbuilding. Year by year the vessels added to the British fleet should be superior to those of contemporary date which they may meet in battle.

The Admiralty has been eminently successful in its reorganisation of the fleets at sea and in reserve. In

1900, when the second German Navy Act was passed, we had only eight armoured ships—seldom seen east of Dover—in commission in British waters, with six cruisers, two of the first class, two of the second, and two of the third, and a number of isolated and half-manned coast-guard and portguard ships, with no war organisation. Gradually, and largely by taking officers and men from the 'tin ships' of no power to fight and no speed to run away from an enemy, the British fleet in home waters has been augmented; and this year it includes forty armoured ships—twenty-six battleships, and fourteen armoured cruisers—with forty-eight destroyers; while behind it are the vessels of the Portsmouth and Devonport divisions of the Home fleet—each ship with a captain, second in command, and all the technical officers, and about three-fifths of the full war crew; and lastly, there are the obsolescent vessels with small crews to keep them 'going.' In 1900 the vessels in reserve had no semblance of crews, and were negligible quantities. The whole question of the organisation of the British fleet in accordance with the Admiralty's new plans has been fully discussed in the House of Commons; and the scheme must be regarded as a gain in fighting efficiency.

But the Admiralty's proposals do not go far enough, because they still have the fleet without an adequate naval base on the east coast. As Lord Tweedmouth has admitted, there is no Government dock capable of taking a 'Dreadnought' nearer the North Sea than Portsmouth. It is possible to exaggerate this defect, because this port, in certain conditions, might well be the most convenient one to which to despatch a vessel disabled in the southern waters of the North Sea. It may be well to illustrate the relative distances between this existing naval arsenal, Rosyth, the site of the 'proposed' base, and other points on the British coast, and Wilhelmshaven, the great German naval port. The table of distances is as follows:

		Nautical Miles.
Wilhelmshaven	to Rosyth	440
"	Portsmouth	440
"	Dover	340
"	Sheerness	280

As a base for large ships Chatham and Sheerness are unsuited owing to difficulties of navigation. Four years

ago the Admiralty admitted this in Parliament, and committed itself to the creation of a base at Rosyth. Mr Arthur Lee (Civil Lord of the Admiralty) subsequently stated, on July 28, 1905, that Rosyth had been selected because it possessed strategic, economic, and industrial advantages, and was accessible at all states of the tide. Land was acquired and preparations were made for creating in the Firth of Forth a repairing yard and *point d'appui*. The necessity for such accommodation has been emphasised by the determined efforts of the German Admiralty in the past few years. The scheme, as admitted by the Admiralty's representatives, has not been abandoned, but it is being delayed. After several years little progress has been made; and in the new estimates practically no provision appears for pressing the work on. This may be economy, but it is not efficiency. The nation should not be rushed into expenditure without proper consideration and investigation; but more than sufficient time has surely elapsed for preliminary work, and there is reason for uneasiness at this continued delay at a moment when such vast naval developments are in progress on the other side of the North Sea. An adequately equipped *point d'appui* cannot be improvised when the hour of trial strikes; its creation must be pressed on now if it is to be ready and working smoothly ten years hence. There is reason to doubt whether Rosyth is the ideal site for a base on the east coast, and still more excuse for thinking that a few floating docks normally stationed at a point further south, provided with a reasonable amount of fixed defence, would better meet the needs of the Navy. This is a matter for the decision of the Admiralty; and surely sufficient time has elapsed for the elaboration of a carefully thought-out policy.

At such a moment as this we cannot afford the luxury of divided counsels or uninstructed agitation. One of the misfortunes of the hour is that public opinion is more ignorant of the essential features of British naval defence than upon any other department of national life. The effect of this may be traced in the ease with which a large section of the community are frequently misled. Repeatedly in the last few years we have had the spectacle of the blind leading the blind. Now and again

the Navy League has piped notes of distress, and has gathered in its train small bands of persons whose enthusiasm for the fleet has far outrun their knowledge of its work and the methods by which it must be trained and organised for war. It is an unhappy fact that in the past few years there has been a great increase in uninstructed criticism of naval administration; and not a few efforts have been made, now by the Cobden Club and now by this or that group of self-styled patriots, to make political capital out of the naval problems on which most experienced officers of his Majesty's forces hold different views. There is, and can be, no finality in the evolution of naval opinion; and, in the absence of the actual test of war, we can only trust that under the direction of successive Boards of Admiralty the British fleet is being maintained in an efficient condition. At any rate the nation may hope to be saved from the dangers which would threaten it if on questions of naval organisation the authorities permitted themselves to be misled by public opinion, instead of courageously striving to keep the nation on the straight and narrow road which inevitably leads to victory.

We hope that Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge's little volume, 'Notes on the Art of Naval Warfare,' may obtain a wide circulation, if only because this officer, who has been a lifelong student of naval history, has set forth with great lucidity the general principles of naval defence which are for all time. Admiral Bridge, it need hardly be added, flogs some of his pet theories very vigorously; but, although many readers will differ from him in his views upon the new scheme of naval training for officers, his undue depreciation of the importance of matériel in war, and his treatment of the subject of commerce defence, we are sure that nothing but advantage can come from the very admirable statement of his opinions which this officer makes. Interest in the Navy has greatly increased in the last few years; and such a volume as that of Admiral Bridge is eminently well fitted to serve as a guide to the civilian who desires to obtain a broad idea of the conditions which govern the organisation of the sea-defences of a widespread empire. The Navy is in some danger from the increased interest which the nation takes in its welfare. The Navy League

from time to time has issued manifestoes dealing with intricate questions of naval organisation ; and now and again this journal or that has devoted itself to uninstructed criticisms of matters of strategy and tactics which are and must remain under the sole control of the Sea-lords. When the nation itself intervenes, either by public meetings or by newspaper agitation, in the organisation of the fleet for war, seeds of degeneration in the national sea forces will have been sown. The politician and the amateur have made sport of the Army for many years past ; and no one is ignorant of the *impasse* which has now been reached. We cannot afford to risk the first line of defence. The people of this country must trust the experts at the helm, who have devoted their lives to the consideration of the problems involved ; and, when those experts give evidence of underestimating the responsibility which rests upon them, and of being unable to bear it adequately, the solution does not lie in the invasion of the arena by the armchair critic and amateur longshoreman, but in a change of experts.

Two successive Governments have consistently supported the policy which was adopted by the experts who were placed at the head of the Navy nearly three years ago. Successive First Lords, Lord Selborne, Lord Cawdor, and Lord Tweedmouth, and the other civilian members of the Boards, have never wavered in their adherence to the principles which these naval experts adopted. These civilian members of the Board of Admiralty have remained loyal to the general scheme of naval defence, with full knowledge of the political circumstances at home and abroad, and a complete comprehension of the strategical and tactical principles underlying the reforms carried out. The evolution of the Navy, which began under a former body of experts when the masted training squadron was abolished, and which has been courageously advanced by the last and the present Board of Admiralty, is still in progress. The time is not ripe for final judgment upon many aspects of Admiralty policy. The new system of training officers and men has not yet been put to an adequate sea-test. The new organisation of the Government dockyards has existed only for a short time ; and the newly-created Home fleet, if we may believe the Admiralty, is merely in its chrysalis state. We are

crossing the stream at this moment in face of a possible enemy. Germany is building up a great fleet unhampered by any of the conservative influences which always operate against reform in such historical institutions as the British fleet. The German Navy is a business concern of recent birth; and in every detail it is tested by only one standard—its efficiency for war. In the technical press of Germany one finds no echo of many of the battles of opinion which have been waged in this country during the past eight or ten years, because in Germany they are building upon new foundations, whereas in England a modern structure is being superimposed upon old foundations. We have the architects of the original building still with us; and it is only human that they should view many developments with distrust; but, amid the storm of controversy between experts old and young as to the right types of ships, the right types of officers and men, and the right principles to be adopted in training the fleets for war, the nation has only one duty. It owes it to itself as a democratic and uninstructed mass to refrain from interference, and to give its whole-hearted support to those who are bearing the responsibility of office, so long as those experts can show that, under their control, the efficiency of the naval machine is not only being maintained but is year by year steadily improving.

The navy which stands still in these days will inevitably deteriorate. The Admiralty is the largest business department of the State, and it is one which should be ruled by the commercial alertness of the city man allied with the knowledge and foresight of the skilled sea officer. From time to time such a development gains in strength from the pruning knife of economy. Every item of naval expenditure should be judged by one standard only—does it add to the fighting efficiency of the fleet? We have been told that, for three years past, naval expenditure has been closely criticised in this spirit; and it is common knowledge that a great reduction in the naval estimates has been effected. Experience will show whether these economies are wise or unwise; but at any rate it would be the height of unwisdom on the part of a great commercial people to hold up to censure a Board of Admiralty, professing allegiance to economy with efficiency, merely because it

has succeeded in reducing expenditure. We want and must have a navy maintained at the two-Power standard, with an adequate margin for contingencies; and, if we are to be true to the principles of commercial life, we must obtain that navy as cheaply as possible, judging the product by one standard only—its fitness to meet a combination of any two European Powers and defeat it.

No one who honestly and carefully studies the pages of impartial statistics in the new issue of the 'Naval Annual' can doubt that the standard of strength of the British fleet, in view of the circumstances at present governing the actions of rivals, is being maintained. Nor can any one who places the latest issue of the 'Naval Annual' side by side with that of the year 1900, doubt that in the interval great progress has been made in the organisation and training of his Majesty's sea forces. Errors may have been committed; but, so far, the general result has been good. It will be noted with regret that in the 'Naval Annual' it is urged that a reduction in the number of ships now in full commission 'appears to be permissible.' This declaration is made at a moment when the nation is being persistently informed that the striking force of the fleets has already been 'reduced by twenty-five per cent.' Reasonable opinion, weighing carefully the advice for further reduction on the one hand, and, on the other, the cries of alarm at the changes already made, will probably decide that the course adopted by the Admiralty is wise. Compromise between extreme opinions is usually not a bad solution of such problems. The Admiralty are maintaining this year thirty-two battleships in full commission, while France and Germany together have only twenty-two vessels in a similar state; while the reserves of the British fleet are not only well up to a two-Power standard, but far exceed it. There is no occasion for agitation; but we must maintain an attitude of intelligent watchfulness, leaving technical details to those who are responsible for them.

We do not criticise the Admiralty for its reorganisation of the fleets, or its general naval policy; it has carried out a great and essential work of reform. The constitution of the new Home fleet, with its fully commissioned division of twelve armoured ships at the Nore, is a

step forward. We do not even condemn this year's modest shipbuilding programme, in the present favourable circumstances, as inadequate; there is a lull in foreign construction, and it would be an economic error to build beyond the two-Power standard, liberally interpreted. But the continued delay with reference to the development of docking and repairing facilities on the east coast is a glaring defect; and it is upon this matter that national attention should be directed.

Never was our responsibility more arduous than it is now. Already Great Britain is almost within grip of a crisis threatening her supremacy; in a comparatively few years Germany will have a fleet of thirty-eight battleships, including eighteen 'Dreadnoughts,' and about fifteen armoured cruisers massed off her shores and opposite our eastern coasts. If the Government would avoid a scare throughout Great Britain—and scares are always undignified and usually lead to gross waste of money on panic schemes—it will have the courage to spend on the development of a naval base on the east coast, the urgent need of to-morrow, at least a portion of the money which has been saved on this year's estimates. Cordite was the final cause of the overthrow of the last Government with which the Prime Minister was associated, and this question of a naval base for our warships in the North Sea may be the grave of the present Ministry.

No one can read the accounts of the naval engagements in the Far East, as narrated by Captain Semenoff and the anonymous Japanese officer whose diary has been published, without realising the horror of war, and the careful, persistent, statesmanlike preparation which is essential to success. President Roosevelt has said:

'Victory in any contest will go to the nation that has earned it by thorough preparation. . . . When the day of battle comes the difference of race will be found as nothing when compared with differences in thorough and practical training in advance.'

The latest naval war has fully confirmed these words.

Art. II.—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE TRUSTS.

1. *Hearings before the Committee on Interstate Commerce.* Vols. I—III. Washington, 1905.
2. *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Beef Industry.* Washington, 1905.
3. *Illinois Manufacturers' Association. Report of Investigating Committee.* Chicago, 1906.
4. *The Neill-Reynolds Report on the Chicago Packing Industry.* Submitted to Congress, June 5, 1906.
5. *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Transportation of Petroleum.* Washington, 1906.
6. *Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York, appointed to investigate the affairs of Life Insurance Companies.* Albany, 1906.
7. *The Jungle.* By Upton Sinclair. New York: Macmillan Co., 1905.
8. *The Packers, the Private Car Lines, and the People.* By J. Ogden Armour. Philadelphia: Altemus Co., 1906.
9. *International, Commercial, and Financial Gambling.* By C. W. Smith. London: P. S. King and Son, 1906.
10. *The United States in the Twentieth Century.* By P. Leroy-Beaulieu. Authorised translation by H. Addington Bruce. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906.
11. *A History of the Northern Securities Case.* By B. H. M. Madison. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, 1906.
12. *Über den Amerikanischen Stahltrust.* By Julius Gutmann. Essen: Baedeker, 1906.

SOME years ago the American trade invasion of Europe was the subject of apprehension on the part of European manufacturers and statesmen. The sudden expansion of the exporting capacities of the United States, due to the magnitude of its diversified resources, appeared to threaten not only the foreign but also the domestic trade of Europe, and to call for concerted international action. Since the Civil War, American industry, depending in part on natural resources, in part on a protective tariff, had developed to large dimensions. The departure of the age of free land had turned attention to more intensive cultivation, thereby giving an impetus to manufacturing enterprise. To the foreign observer, the exporting power of the United States seemed to be increased by

the methods of industrial organisation. Partly through the aid of Protection, partly in obedience to economic forces, industry had become more and more concentrated. The protective tariff ensured to concentrated industry a virtual monopoly in the home-market, to the practical exclusion of foreign competition. It appeared that, a high rate of profit being made in the great home-market, surplus products could be disposed of in the foreign markets at figures well-nigh defying competition.

The great activity in the creation of Trusts, during the speculative period of 1901–1902, appeared to make American competition especially threatening. Now, barely four years have elapsed, and already a halt has been called in the Trust movement. At first the alluring tales of the promoters, which were worthy of being classed with those of the South-Sea Bubble, attracted capital in plenty. But soon the financial weakness of many of the speculative combinations which designing individuals endeavoured to unload on a too credulous public became apparent. Conservatism asserted itself. The public became critical; and mere size and promoter's estimates were no longer sufficient. Since then, the aroused antagonism of the American people has challenged those monopoly privileges in the home-market which were, in great part, the postulate of Trust success in foreign trade.

Part of the antagonism to the Trusts is due to the fact that the American people have feared, as a result of monopolistic control of industry, the pinch of rising prices. Part of it is due to attacks on existing abuses, which have not distinguished the evil from the good. The literature of exposure has, for the past four years, been popular in the United States. That much of the activity in this direction has been justified may readily be admitted. The cynical supineness which led otherwise respectable citizens to acquiesce in 'boss' rule had so long been a commonplace that it scarcely excited comment. The exposures made by Mr Lincoln Steffens in 'The Shame of the Cities,' articles which enjoyed a wide currency through the columns of 'McClure's Magazine,' undoubtedly quickened the civic conscience and materially aided the reform movements in Philadelphia and other cities, which till then had been 'corrupt, but contented.' The thoroughgoing investigations of Mr Hitchcock,

President Roosevelt's able Secretary of the Interior, exposed land frauds which resulted in the disgrace of a Congressman and of a Senator. Prosecutions in the courts opened prison doors for another Senator who had used his official position to shield a 'get-rich-quick' scheme which was making fraudulent use of the mails. Subordinate government officials have been found guilty of furnishing speculators with advance crop-statistics. This civic house-cleaning has been magnified in importance because it has been done in the full glare of day.

But the exposures in governmental circles have been overshadowed by those in the field of business—exposures which have somewhat shattered the complacent belief in the superiority of business over governmental methods. The exposures in the field of insurance have been especially significant. As a result of squabbles in the Equitable Life Insurance Company, a committee of the New York Legislature was appointed in July 1905 to investigate the affairs of the life insurance companies, which had been subject to a nominal inspection by the State. The Equitable Life, the New York Life, and the Mutual Life, which control the bulk of the insurance business, and which are popularly known as 'The Big Three,' as well as various companies of less importance, were investigated. The ceaseless activity and intelligent insight of Mr Hughes, now the Republican Governor of New York State, probed the abuses to the bottom. The report of this committee, known from its chairman as the Armstrong Committee, was published in January 1906. It found that the directors of leading insurance companies had neglected their duties as trustees. Some of them, acting as directors of subsidiary enterprises, had used the funds of the insurance companies to aid in financing enterprises in which they were engaged. The report states (p. 276) that

'Through the control of subsidiary corporations, by means of stock ownership, some [life-insurance companies] have practically transacted the business of banks and trust companies. . . . In addition to investments in stock, insurance corporations have placed millions of dollars at the disposal of other companies through the maintenance of inactive deposit accounts at low rates of interest. . . . Purchases have been made, not for investment, but for sale; and the large corpora-

tions have freely furnished their support to numerous ventures through participation in the undertaking of syndicates.'

Participation in speculative undertakings seemed to the insurance companies to be justified by a profitable outcome. Political contributions were made from the funds of the companies, either to support political views, or on the frank assumption that the political party so aided would be friendly to the insurance interest. Professional lobbyists, plentifully supplied with money, were maintained at the various seats of government to protect the interests of their companies. Not in defence but in explanation of this lobbying activity, it may be said that legislation inimical to insurance interests has been introduced in State Legislatures with a view to extorting money from the insurance companies. The more recent exposures in the Pennsylvania railway system, which have shown that railway officials have obtained stock at low or nominal figures, in companies furnishing freight to the railway, the understood consideration being illicit favours in railway rates, has given a further shock to the complacency of the American people.

It is not to be assumed that the evils thus exposed, discreditable as they are, are characteristic of all American industry. But the literature of exposure, more particularly that phase of it popularly known as 'yellow journalism,' has luxuriated in its opportunity. In this work the group of newspapers owned by Mr W. R. Hearst, of New York, has, by cartoon, editorial, and news item, been most active. The result is that there is at the present moment a widespread distrust of large capitalistic organisations, and a tendency to identify large fortunes with the plundering of the people. President Roosevelt has recognised the danger of the existing situation, and has appealed to the conscience of the nation against the obtaining of money by corrupt means. In attacking 'predatory wealth' he said in October 1905,

'The man of great means who achieves an immense fortune by crooked means does a wrong to the body-politic and becomes a source of danger to the nation. The conscience of the people has been shocked by the recent exposures of how great fortunes are made; and a serious effort should be made to put a stop to the cynical dishonesty with which men

debauch business and political life. The worst citizens are the men who have achieved great wealth, or any other form of success, in any save a clean and straightforward manner.'

The President has been charged by the ultra-conservatives with stirring up discontent against wealth as wealth. But this is a total misrepresentation of his position. In his speech at Harrisburg, on October 4, 1906, he said :

'All honest men must abhor and reprobate any effort to excite hostility to men of wealth as such. We should do all we can to encourage thrift and business energy, to put a premium on the conduct of the man who honestly earns his livelihood, and more than his livelihood, and who honestly uses the money he has earned.'

While there has been an increasing body of opposition to the monopolistic features of combinations in general, the combinations which are at present attracting the greatest attention are the railways, the Standard Oil Company, and the beef industry. Consolidations of great size have taken place in the railway industry of the United States. In the absence of provision for Federal chartering of railways, the railways were, in the first instance, of local interest alone, obtaining their sanction from State legislation. As the importance of through traffic developed, in the early fifties, closer relations were set up between the separate links necessary to establish through routes. The constituent companies remained subject to State legislation; the control became centralised. Thus grew up the Vanderbilt system, at first loosely related, and the more closely integrated system of the Pennsylvania railway. The anomaly presented itself of railways receiving their sanction from State legislation, while at the same time the bulk of their business was spread over several States. The later phases of railway integration have gone further. There have been endeavours, through consolidations of competing trunk-lines, to divide the country into railway districts.

The great industrial expansion beginning with the opening up of the west in the early seventies, of which the railways were at the same time both a cause and a result, brought to light many grievances in the existing railway system. The westward extension of the area of territory tributary to the railways made transportation

by way of the Great Lakes less effective as a regulative factor in railway rates. Consequently many rate anomalies manifested themselves. The outcome of this was a long period of discussion and agitation, which culminated in 1887 in the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The legislation creating this body was intended to afford a more speedy and less expensive process of dealing with railway grievances than was afforded by actions in the courts.

Since the enactment of this legislation new grievances have become important. These are concerned with the commanding position of the private-car companies and the opportunities afforded for rebates. In the development of the transportation of perishable commodities the long distances to be traversed demanded special facilities. The railways were unwilling, because of expense, to supply this additional equipment. Mr P. D. Armour, then head of the Armour packing interests, therefore found it necessary to build refrigerator cars to use in the transportation of meat. Subsequently this company engaged in the transportation of fruits and other perishable commodities. In general, the railways have refrained from the investment of capital in such cars, both because of the amount of capital required, and because the demand for the cars is intermittent. For example, a railway situated in the southern States cannot, on account of the short fruit-season, afford to maintain an expensive equipment of refrigerator cars to carry Georgia peaches to the northern markets. The Armour Company, on the other hand, carries not only the peaches of Georgia, but also the later peaches of Michigan and the small fruits and other perishable commodities of intervening sections and periods. The private-car company can thus more steadily utilise the capital invested.

In addition to private cars owned by the Standard Oil Company, and cars owned by other smaller companies, there are, in round numbers, twenty-five thousand such cars owned by the leading packing companies, one-half of these belonging to the Armour Company. The advantages to a company, e.g. the Armour Company, in owning private cars are: the obtaining of adequate facilities, both as to number of cars and refrigerator service; the securing of the mileage payment allowed by the railways

for the use of such cars; and the obtaining of the incidental profits arising from refrigeration. It is in connexion with the second and third of these headings that grievances have arisen. The owner of the private car lends his equipment to the railway, receiving in return a specified mileage rate. This varies from three-fourths of a cent to one cent per car per mile. Whether the car is used for the transportation of his own products, or is turned over to some shipper, or travels empty, the owner of the car receives the mileage rate. In addition, the ordinary freight rate for the transportation of the commodity is paid.

This arrangement has been the subject of much criticism. There is no question of the great industrial services that private cars have rendered; but this is no rejoinder to the contention that their profits have been exorbitant. These, as is shown in Mr Garfield's report on the beef industry, have amounted to from 17 to 20 per cent. These companies have become so firmly entrenched as to be able to prevent the railways obtaining any reductions in the mileage rate allowances. Not only have the car companies obtained advantageous terms and lucrative earnings from mileage allowances, but they have also, by sending their cars over circuitous routes, been able to increase their mileage earnings. While it is true that in the shipment of perishable fruits, e.g. from California, the car companies have to accumulate large stocks of ice and incur large costs in connexion therewith, it is at the same time apparent that their charges for refrigeration are much in excess of actual costs.

Not only has there been outcry because of high rates of profit obtained, and consequent pressure upon the shipper; there has also been complaint that the private-car companies have, on account of the volume of traffic they control, been able to command favours, either open or concealed, from the railways. The tank-cars of the Standard Oil Company receive, on the Pacific coast, a mileage rate of three-fourths of a cent, whether they are loaded or not. Only six-tenths of a cent are paid in the case of cars owned by independent producers, and this in the case of loaded cars only. The railways have held that they could not bear the expense of the special tank-car equipment. By so doing they have put themselves at the

mercy of the Standard Oil Co., which differs from the independent companies in that it owns a large number of cars which may be used in the transportation of oil other than its own. The Standard Oil Company has used this to its own advantage. By creating an artificial scarcity of cars, it has rendered it impossible for the independent companies to fulfil their contracts. There have been sporadic attempts on the part of the railways to escape from the bondage of the Standard by supplying cars; but these efforts have failed. Under the influence of the Standard, the railways have placed obstacles in the way of the operation of tank-cars owned by independents. The result has been that the consumers of oil, in order to obtain an adequate supply, have been forced to make contracts with the Standard. The process of consolidation has thus been hastened. In various instances the Standard has fulfilled its contracts with oil obtained from these independents at prices ruinously low. The legal status of the private cars has been uncertain, it being urged that they are not common carriers; and hence it has been well-nigh impossible to obtain redress.

The Standard Oil Company has stood in the front of American Trusts. It has been a favourite topic in the literature of exposure. To the attacks made upon it it has not openly replied. It is a close corporation, whose stocks are not quoted; and it has shunned publicity. The skill of its organisation on the legal side has challenged attention. Hitherto it has been impossible to attack it successfully in the courts. On the business side its organisation has been masterly. Through the complete development of the economies of an integrated industry, it has, through the utilisation of by-products, built up a large profit fund. The output of coal-oil in the United States amounts annually to about 26,000,000 barrels; of this the Standard controls 23,000,000. It controls approximately the same proportion of the other finished products of petroleum. In the distribution of its refineries it has so arranged them, in relation to the centres of supply and of demand, as to eliminate the wastes of unnecessary transportation arising from the payment of cross-freights. Its large investments in pipe lines have enabled it to pipe the crude oil to the refineries at a very low cost. Allowing for interest on

the investment and depreciation of the pipe line, oil can be sent from the oil-fields of western Pennsylvania to the refineries on the Atlantic seaboard for ten cents a barrel. To carry it by rail would cost at least four times as much. Crude oil is to-day piped fifteen hundred miles from the Indian Territory, in the south-west, to the refineries at New York Harbour. The capitalisation of the Company is conservative and has been exempt from the evil effects of stock exchange flurries which have harassed other combinations. The protection of the tariff has meant nothing to it, for its advantages have come from the control of a natural monopoly. In this it differs from many other Trusts. The interests allied in it have far-reaching ramifications. Investments in banks, railways, and mining have enabled the Standard Oil group to exercise a wide industrial influence; and the secrecy which it has, from policy, pursued has made its potential influence still more formidable.

While it has many economic advantages, it has not scrupled to aggrandise its business by underhand means. In the earlier period of its history, control of capital enabled it to extort illicit privileges from the railways. The threat to divert traffic from a struggling railway to a pipe line would obtain a secret rate. The secret rate, once obtained, would afford a fulcrum for the extortion of a similar, if not more far-reaching, concession from other railways. It has always made use of unfair competition. In the Ohio field, when a producer refused to dispose of his property on the terms offered by the Standard, it would drill for oil all round his property until the oil was taken away from his oil-well and his property became valueless. Such object-lessons did not often need to be repeated. No matter how distant he may be from the main lines of communication, nor how petty his business may be, any retailer who cuts the price on oil will soon find that the Standard Oil Co. is ready to eliminate him by selling oil below cost. On one occasion a refiner, who had developed a process whereby corn oil could be used in the manufacture of paints, confidingly made an arrangement whereby he was to obtain capital from the Standard Oil Co. The travellers of that Company, when questioned concerning the corn oil, would speak disparagingly of it. In a short time the business of

the refiner, who threatened, because of his lower cost of production, to be a competitor of the Standard Oil Company, was ruined; and the financial support given to him by the Standard at once ceased.

Although the original Trust agreement of this Company was declared illegal by the Supreme Court of Ohio in 1892, the laws delays were so utilised that the Trust was not dissolved for seven years. In 1899 the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey was reorganised with a capital of \$110,000,000. This Company, which acts as a holding company, took over and placed in a more centralised form than ever the control of the seventy constituent companies. Under this new arrangement the profits of the Standard Oil Co. have exceeded all previous figures. Since 1900 the dividends have varied from 48% to 36%, and have averaged 42½%.

While the Federal legislation of 1887 forbade the granting of rebates, and while the subsequent legislation of 1903, known as the Elkins Bill, endeavoured to make the prohibition more stringent, the Standard has not been content to utilise simply the advantages given it by control of supply and command of capital. Secret rates have been obtained from points whence the Standard is the only shipper, to points where competition exists. In this way a larger extent of territory is tributary to the Standard Oil refineries than to those of the independents. The law demands the publication of rates on interstate shipments; but an advantage is given to the Standard through low secret rates on traffic wholly within the boundaries of a given State. The rates on such traffic are, of course, free from Federal supervision. The provisions of the Federal legislation have also, by manipulations and combinations of rates, been evaded in the case of interstate shipments. Secret State rates have been combined with interstate rates, more or less public in character, whereby a total rate is obtained which is much less than the published through rate from the initial point of shipment to the final destination. Through rates by circuitous routes are made up by combinations of rates, which are known only to the agents of the Standard Oil Company; consequently this favoured company is able to underbid its competitors. The system of 'blind billing' is used to conceal the rates actually charged on the ship-

ments of the Standard. Under this arrangement the rate actually charged does not appear on the face of the way-bill; and the collection of freight charges is made, not through the local officials, but through some general official of the railway, and on the presentation of a summary bill showing the amount of freight charges at the secret rate. As Mr Garfield says, in his report on the oil industry (p. 8),

'There is no escape from the conclusion, based both on specific evidence and upon the general character of the general rate adjustments, that the Standard not only uses, but largely initiates and secures, these rate discriminations so advantageous to itself and baffling to its competitors, and that the Standard is often responsible for the use of these secret methods which inure to its exclusive benefit.'

We now turn to another department in which grave scandals have occurred. The most important of the packing houses are those owned by the Armour, Swift, Morris, National, Schwarzchild and Sulzberger, and Cudahy Packing Companies. These are commonly known as the 'Big Six.' Originally cattle were carried by rail to the east alive. This method of transportation was very costly, for only from 54 to 57 per cent. of the live weight of cattle constitutes dressed beef. It is obvious that, when the cattle were slaughtered at the terminus in the east, there was a great waste of transportation cost. There was also the disadvantage of shrinkage in weight on the way when the cattle were shipped alive. As the area of supply moved westwards, the cost of transportation of live cattle for great distances became a still more important factor. The packing industry began, in the first instance, with pork products. Live hogs are subject to greater shrinkage in transit than live cattle; moreover, cured pork products are preferable to cured beef or mutton. As a result of this, pork-packing had obtained a considerable development in the early fifties. In 1865 the Chicago Stock Yards were opened; in 1868 a refrigerator car was patented; and in September 1869 the first shipment of fresh beef was carried from Chicago to Boston. The importance of the packing industry dates from the early seventies.

During 1903 the prices of beef cattle were much lower

than during 1902; at the same time it was alleged that there was an unusually large margin between the price of beef cattle and the selling-price of fresh beef. In consequence of this the Department of Commerce and Labour was directed to investigate the subject. The findings ran counter to popular anticipation, and were the subject of much criticism. The report is, however, a most thorough and painstaking one, and challenges the most careful attention. The capitalisation of the companies known as the 'Big Six' is, in round numbers, \$90,000,000, and is on a conservative basis. There has been a lack of publicity in regard to the business of the leading packers, since they are, on the whole, essentially private concerns. The advantages of stock-exchange manipulations have not been before the eyes of the companies, for the stock, with few exceptions, is held by members of the respective families controlling the packing-house groups. Under such conditions there is little or no inducement to inflate capitalisation; there is indeed an argument against it, in that such increase would subject the companies to increased taxation. While the packers have a predominating position in the longer distance shipments of beef, the local butcher still holds an important position, with the result that the packers do not control more than 50 per cent. of the beef supply. Consequently any attempt of the packers to control prices is subject to the competition of the local butchers. At the same time the packing business is more readily subject to actual competition than many other types of industry. It owes nothing to the favours of the protective tariff. Upward movements in prices of beef may be expected henceforward; but these will in great part be attributable to the fact that, with the settlement of the country, the ranges on which large herds of cattle pastured are being broken up.

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Under

The packing industry is not a capitalistic monopoly. The business is not controlled by patents, secret processes, or monopoly of raw material. The amount of capital necessary to provide even a system of several plants with transportation lines and marketing facilities is not so large as seriously to hinder new competition in case very high profits are made by the present concerns. The profits of dressed beef are by no means exorbitant.

A considerable part of them comes from the utilisation of by-products. Mr Armour ('The Packers,' etc., p. 186) says:

"‘Waste not’ is the packer’s creed; and his scientific faithfulness to it, inspired by self-interest, is actually one of the most fruitful sources of economic advantages to the people of the civilised world thus far brought about in the laboratory of the scientist.'

From otherwise waste products there are manufactured fertilisers, sulphuric acid, and acid phosphates; blood albumen, used by calico-printers in the fixing of pigment colours, in the tanning of leather, and in the clarifying of liquors by the sugar manufacturers; glue, bristles for brushes, gelatine, brewer’s isinglass, buttons, knife-handles, cyanide and chrome, pepsin, pancreatin, and many other substances. The margin of profit in any given period will depend not only on the returns from the meat disposed of, but also on the prices realised from the hides and by-products. Calculations for the period 1902–04 show that the profits of the packers from all these sources do not exceed \$1.50 per head of cattle slaughtered. Representative packing firms made profits not exceeding 2 per cent. on the investment.

But, while the beef industry is less monopolistic than many other of the integrated industries, and while it appears that the price level is not unduly high, the methods under which the products are prepared afford an opening for attack. It was in March 1905 that ‘The Jungle,’ which in many respects deserves the now trite title of an epoch-making book, was published. ‘The Jungle’ is a piece of crude and revolting realism, describing the unsanitary conditions under which the beef-packing industry is carried on. No detail is omitted to impress the reader with the utter filth that prevails. To add to the impression, the lives of a group of workers are studied; and the degradation of industry as a result of greed is heightened in effect by the physical and moral degradation of the workers. One is made to feel that the packing industry is a festering plague-spot which spreads contagion affecting not only life but morals. The reader is indirectly led to suspect that the same conditions exist in business generally; and the touches

whereby attention is directed to the adulteration of articles of general necessity and to the bribery of machine politics leave the impression that a widespread corruption in business is but the analogue of the 'reign of graft' in politics. The book is in reality a polemic intended to depict the wholesale putrescence of modern conditions, whose betterment is to be found only in socialism. For the author is a socialist, who has since undertaken the organisation of a socialistic community near the city of New York, and who has been offered and has accepted the opportunity to lead a forlorn hope as a socialistic candidate for Congress in the State of New Jersey. The very attempt to prove a case by the massing of repulsive details which well-nigh tax the utmost limits of belief defeats in great measure the end in view; for the reader is stunned, not convinced, by the impact of the accusation.

Apparently the wholesale accusations of '*The Jungle*' had but little effect upon the demand for packing-house products. The book was published in March 1905; during the month of July 1905 there were 11,000,000 more pounds of packing-house products sold than in the previous July. The domestic trade for seven months during 1906 has exceeded by 300,000,000 lbs the corresponding total for the preceding year. Apparently the people had become so accustomed to exposure that they discounted it. The real effect was on the foreign trade, which showed a marked falling-off. In the month of September 1906 the exports of canned and of cured beef were 1,800,000 lbs less than in September 1905.

The real force of the indictment appeared when it was made the subject of official investigation. The publishers of '*The Jungle*' had secured themselves against legal action by causing investigations to be made which satisfied them of the substantial accuracy of the accusation. The packers had not appreciated the full force of the indictment. Mr Armour had said that, while 'the business of slaughtering meat animals and converting them into food and products is not a parlour business at its best' (*op. cit.*, p. 364), there had, since the beginning of the packing industry, been a steady improvement in the methods of handling the products of the industry. The criticism he attributed to sensationalism and to wide-

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spread dislike of corporations. The conditions, he contended, were satisfactory because

'at every step in the conversion of animals into meat the public is protected, not only by rigid inspection of every animal before slaughter, and of every carcass after slaughter, but also by the common-sense business methods of the packers themselves' (*op. cit.*, p. 358).

The matter having been brought to the attention of the President, he caused an investigation to be made by Mr Charles P. Neill, head of the Federal Bureau of Labour, and Mr James B. Reynolds, who had been the secretary of Mayor Low during the reform administration in the city of New York. The report was a confidential one, made for the President's guidance, and satisfied him that more rigid inspection was necessary. Though the report was made on a comparatively short inspection of the conditions existing in Chicago, it unfortunately created the impression that the conditions found to exist there were general. In the interests of justice to business the investigation should have been more extensive. The report found that the demands of sanitation were in many respects neglected, and that the existing Federal inspection was inadequate. The President now pressed for a more stringent inspection law, but found himself hindered by the recalcitrancy of the House of Representatives and the unwillingness of the packers to admit that more stringent supervision was necessary. It was under these conditions that the President made public the Neill-Reynolds report, which led to the enactment of new legislation. This was passed under the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce; and this power must be discussed before we can adequately appreciate the President's regulative campaign.

The framers of the constitution of the United States, fearing to place wide powers and unlimited sovereignty in the hands of the Federal Government, specified the powers granted to the central authority, the powers not so granted being reserved either to the States or to the people. Under this arrangement the most important powers possessed by Congress in regard to industry are conferred by the interstate commerce clause,

which empowers Congress 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.' Supplementary authority is derived from the power to levy taxes, to establish post-offices and post-roads, and to coin money. The right 'to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers' must also be read as indicating the scope of the Federal jurisdiction.

The commanding position of the Supreme Court, which is the final judge of all Federal legislation, claims for its decisions the closest attention. In the famous series of judgments given, at an early period in the Court's history, by Chief Justice Marshall, the principle of giving a broad construction of the powers conferred on the Federal Government was adopted. Although there has from time to time been an ebb and flow, dependent on the personnel of the Court, the precedents set by Marshall have on the whole been followed. It may therefore be said that it has been the policy of the Court to construe broadly the constitutionality of the powers exercised by Congress, while at the same time a technical legal interpretation has been given to the terms of the statutes under which such powers are exercised. Under a rigid written constitution—for the process of amendment provided is so cumbrous as to be practically unavailable—the Supreme Court is the elastic portion of the constitution which provides, by implication, for the broadening of power to meet new exigencies. In the definition of constitutionality, questions of policy, as well as of strict law, have their weight.

However correct in theory, from an historical standpoint, the strict-construction theory of the constitution may have been, it received a death-blow from the Civil War. Though it was not wholly true that the laws were silent while arms were being borne, it was no time for niceties of construction; and a national support was given to the broad-construction tendencies of the Court. In the Legal-Tender cases, which upheld the constitutionality of the issue of inconvertible paper with a legal-tender attribute, a broad justification was found in the necessities of war. In the exercise of the power to tax, Congress has a wide discretion. A tax may be levied either for revenue or for prohibitive purposes. When

Congress, in 1869, excluded State bank-notes from circulation by imposing upon them a tax of 10 per cent., the Court upheld this as a legitimate exercise of power, and stated that 'the judicial department cannot prescribe to the legislative department of Government limitations upon the exercise of its acknowledged powers.'*

The breadth of construction of the interstate commerce clause is especially noteworthy. Marshall's decision in 1824, that commerce includes not only traffic but intercourse as well, gave a trend to more recent decisions; but interstate commerce was of minor importance in the earlier days. During the first forty years of the Supreme Court's existence, only five cases came before it in which the construction of this clause was involved. With the expansion of the railway system and the general industrial development of the country, questions arising under this head have become increasingly frequent. In 1895, in a case which arose out of the aggression of organised labour during the Chicago strike, it was stated:

'The constitution has not changed. . . . But it operates today upon modes of interstate commerce unknown to the fathers; and it will operate with equal force upon any new modes of such commerce which the future may develop.' *

When the need of railway regulation was appreciated, it was under the interstate commerce clause that regulatory legislation was passed. This legislation was stoutly opposed by the railway interests, which stigmatised it as an unwarrantable interference with private industry. One pessimistic critic contended that it was a movement towards centralisation, and that 'the next natural step must be the purchase and absolute control by the same power of all this vast railroad property.' There were others who argued that this legislation was an unjustifiable interference with State activity.

The next exercise of power under this clause was concerned with an attempt to regulate industrial combinations. In two years 138 Bills dealing with this subject were introduced in Congress. Finally, in 1890, the anti-

* *Veazie Bank v. Fenno*, 8 Wallace U.S., 532,

† *In re Debs*, 158 U.S., 504,

trust legislation known as the Sherman Law was passed. This was a compromise measure, and, like so many of the compromise measures passed by Congress, was inexact in phraseology. It is entitled 'an Act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.' This implies that there are lawful restraints and monopolies. But the Act states that 'every contract, combination, in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States . . . is illegal.' While 'monopolising' is prohibited, no definition of this term is given; and it must be remembered that 'monopolising' is not a word of legal precision.

The regulation of Trusts is complicated by the fact that there is no Federal corporation law. Corporations engaging in interstate commerce do so under a State charter. The difficulty thus presented is well exemplified by the United States Steel Corporation. This organisation attracts attention, not only because of its huge capitalisation, but also because of the wide sweep of its business and of its resources. This giant corporation, which is well described by Dr Gutmann in the book mentioned in our list, is chartered under a law of New Jersey. Congress has no power over manufacture as such. In 1895, in a decision in an action against the Sugar Trust, the Supreme Court held that, although a combination had been formed controlling 98 per cent. of the sugar-refining of the country, this did not come within the scope of the anti-trust legislation. Only the consequences of combination, not the combination itself, could be dealt with.

Although it was generally supposed that railways were exempt from the anti-trust legislation, since they were already covered by the Act to regulate commerce, some of the most signal decisions have been those concerned with railways. In 1897 and in 1898, in the Traffic Association cases,* organisations formed to maintain 'reasonable' rates were declared to be combinations to maintain rates, and therefore prohibited by the anti-trust legislation. Railways were declared to be 'instruments of commerce, and their business is commerce itself.

* 167 U.S., 200, and 171 U.S., 505.

This was carried further in the Northern Securities decision in 1904. In this case a 'holding company' of exceedingly wide powers was formed under a New Jersey charter. By control of majority stock-holdings in the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, it controlled these railways and their subordinate lines. Not one mile of the railways concerned was situated in the State from which the charter was obtained. The holding company did not operate the railways; it simply controlled them through its majority holdings. By deciding that this company was a combination in restraint of trade, the Court, while avoiding a direct expression of opinion on the subject, in reality decided that ownership of property falls within the scope of the legislation whenever such ownership, if allowed to continue, might result in restraint of interstate commerce.

The powers of Congress over Trusts under existing legislation, as established by court decisions, are substantially as follows. The power to regulate gives the power to prohibit; this may be exercised either under the taxing power or under the interstate commerce clause. Every combination which directly or necessarily operates in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States is illegal. Railways engaged in interstate commerce are subject to the anti-trust Act. Congress has established the rule of free competition among those engaged in interstate commerce; every combination which would extinguish competition between otherwise competing railways engaged in interstate commerce, and which would in that way restrain such commerce, is illegal. The provisions of the anti-trust Act apply to private manufacturers or dealers as well as to corporations. The natural effect of competition is to increase commerce; and an agreement whose direct effect is to prevent this play of competition restrains instead of promoting trade and commerce. The legislative prohibitions are not limited to 'unreasonable restraints,' but are directed against all restraints, whether reasonable or unreasonable; therefore the Court will not consider evidence in regard to the reasonableness of the restraint. It is not necessary to show that a combination results or will result in a complete monopoly; it is only essential to show that by its necessary operation it tends to restrain

interstate commerce or to create a monopoly in such commerce and to deprive the public of the advantages that flow from free competition.

In his message to Congress in 1901, President Roosevelt said :

'In the interest of the whole people the nation should, without interfering with the powers of the States in the matter, itself also assume powers of supervision and regulation over corporations doing an interstate business.'

In annual messages and in addresses he has from time to time returned to the subject, and in stronger terms. A large part of the rising tide of opposition to the Trusts and desire for their adequate regulation, arises from the appreciation of their evils which his educational campaign has evoked. At the same time, when the question of remedies arises, the limitations due to his political connexions appear. To those who urge that the Trust problem is to be settled by depriving monopolised products of protection through duties, President Roosevelt, in his letter to Congressman Watson, of Indiana, August 20, 1906—a letter intended to be used as a campaign document—replied as follows :

'The cry that the problem can be met by any changes in the tariff, represents, consciously or unconsciously, an effort to divert public attention from the only method of taking regulative action.'

The protective tariff is not so important a factor in Trust preservation as some, including Mr Bryan, think ; nor is it a negligible quantity, as President Roosevelt contends. While he has become more radical in his attitude towards domestic industry, he has become more conservative in regard to the tariff. He has inclined more and more to the reactionary attitude of the 'stand pat' section of the Republican party—a section which fears that the pillars of the existing edifice will be pulled down if repairs are made on the roof. This attitude was apparent in the President's speech at Milwaukee on April 3, 1903, when he said that to regulate Trusts through the tariff would be to put an end to the prosperity of the Trusts by putting an end to the prosperity of the nation. The speech of Mr Roosevelt's lieutenant, Mr Taft, Secre-

tary of War, at Bath, Maine, on Sept. 5, 1906, may be taken as summarising the President's position.

'It is impracticable, by a revision of the tariff, to destroy Trusts. The effect which a protective tariff has in aid of Trusts is a partial exclusion or hampering of foreign competition in articles manufactured by Trusts, thus narrowing the competition to be met and overcome by illegal Trust methods; but the principle of excluding or burdening foreign competition with home competition is the protective system. . . . The question presented is whether it is wiser to maintain the benefits of the protective system, and deal with the evils of the management of Trusts by specific legislation directed to those evils, or, in an attempt to curb Trusts, to pull down the whole protective system.'

To the President the Trust problem is one of domestic policy. The policy favoured by him and accepted by the Republican party, although not without protest, is summed up under the words publicity and regulation. In his message to the Legislature of New York in 1900, President (then Governor) Roosevelt said :

'Supervision and publicity are needed quite as much for the sake of the honest corporations as for the sake of the public. The corporation that manages its affairs honestly has a right to demand protection against the dishonest corporation. . . . The first essential is knowledge of the facts—publicity.'

Under legislation enacted in 1903, on the recommendation of the President, provision was made for publicity in regard to corporate affairs by the establishment of a Bureau of Corporations, a sub-department of the new department of Commerce and Labour. Mr James R. Garfield, a son of the late President Garfield, was appointed Commissioner of Corporations. He was given power to investigate the business of corporations, joint-stock companies, or corporate combinations engaged in interstate commerce; and to gather information to enable the President to make recommendations to Congress in regard to the regulation of interstate commerce. The reports made to the President are to receive such publicity as he may direct. Under this legislation investigations of the conditions existing in the beef and oil industries have been conducted by Mr Garfield. The

work of the Bureau of Corporations is primarily an enquiry into the industrial and legal methods used by the agencies engaged in interstate and foreign commerce; and the purpose of such enquiry is to afford accurate knowledge of the industrial conditions upon which there may be based intelligent legislative action.

The power in regard to regulation has been exercised under the interstate commerce clause. While Mr Bryan, in his recent speech at Louisville, Kentucky, held that strict regulation of the railways is advisable, he at the same time holds that the country must ultimately accept government ownership in order to escape not only the corrupting effect of the railway in politics, but also the evils arising from extortionate rates and rebates. To President Roosevelt government ownership is a last resort. He believes in railway regulation; and he has been successful in getting the Railway Commission legislation strengthened. He has throughout held that, if rebating were abolished, much of the strength of the Trusts would disappear.

Though the Interstate Commerce Commission has contended almost from the outset that the power to establish a reasonable rate, when a rate has been found unreasonable in an action before the Commission, is essential, its contention was not taken seriously until President Roosevelt, in his annual message in 1904, said :

'As a fair security to the shipper, the Commission should be vested with the power, when a given rate is challenged, and after full review found to be unreasonable, to decide, subject to judicial review, what will be a reasonable rate to take its place.'

As a result of his urgent advocacy, both in 1904 and in 1905, amendatory legislation was passed in the last session of Congress. In addition to conferring the amendatory rate-making power, the abuses of the 'midnight tariff' system are prevented by requiring thirty days' notice of changes in rates, instead of the shorter period formerly demanded. Rebating in any form is forbidden; and stringent penalties are provided. The railway company which shall 'offer, grant, or give' a rebate is subject to a fine varying from \$1000 to \$20,000 for each offence; and railway officials participating in such an arrange-

ment are punishable by fine, or by fine and imprisonment. The shipper who shall 'solicit, accept, or receive' a rebate is liable to similar penalties. To ascertain whether rebates are given, the Interstate Commerce Commission is empowered to appoint examiners to inspect the books of the railway companies. Further, in an action dealing with rebates, all rebates received during a period six years prior to the commencement of the action may also be dealt with. Private cars are also placed under the supervision of the Commission.

Though the scope of the anti-trust Act was not extended during the last session of Congress, additional powers of regulation under the interstate commerce clause were granted in regard to other matters. Under the new meat-inspection law, which became effective on October 1, 1906, meat and meat-products cannot enter into interstate commerce unless they are marked 'inspected and passed.' The purpose of the Act is to prevent the use in interstate or foreign commerce of meat and meat-products which are unwholesome or otherwise unfit for human food. The determination of these conditions is delegated to the Bureau of Animal Industry, a sub-department of the Department of Agriculture, under whose immediate authority more than six hundred inspectors have been assigned to places in half as many packing establishments and railway shipping points in the meat-producing districts. As the result of many years agitation, a 'pure food' law was passed, which applies to food, drink, and drugs. For the breach of the law, fines and imprisonment are provided.

The present is a period of great activity in the prosecution of Trusts, not only in the Federal field, but also in the States. In New York the local ice combination has been prosecuted because of artificial enhancement of prices. In the district of Columbia and in the city of Philadelphia actions have also been initiated against local ice combinations. In Toledo, Ohio, the Circuit Court recently upheld a decision whereby three ice-dealers, who were convicted of violating the State anti-trust Act, were sentenced to fines of \$2500 and six months' imprisonment in the workhouse. In the same State, on October 19, the Standard Oil Company was found guilty of infractions of the State anti-trust Act, under which

fines totalling \$5,000,000 may be imposed. An appeal has been lodged against this decision.

But, while in the States some action has been taken against the Trusts, it is in the Federal field that the greatest activity is shown. This activity has been especially noteworthy since President Roosevelt's accession to office. In 1903 a special appropriation of \$500,000 was made by Congress to aid in the enforcement of the anti-trust law and the Act to regulate commerce. By legislation of the same year provision was made that in suits under these Acts, when the United States is the complainant and there is a sufficient public interest involved, the case may, on the certificate of the Attorney-General, take precedence on the docket. This power was exercised in the Northern Securities case. The increased activity under these laws is shown in the following table of original proceedings begun and prosecuted :—

Periods.	For violation of anti-trust Act.	For violation of Act to regulate commerce.
Under President Harrison	7	17
„ „ Cleveland	6	32
„ „ McKinley	3	12
„ „ Roosevelt	16	60

In the prosecutions arising under the interstate commerce clause there has been a co-operation of the various agencies. Investigations and proceedings have been conducted by the Interstate Commerce Commission ; prosecutions under the anti-trust Act have been made by the Department of Justice ; while investigations on which actions have been based have been made by the Commissioner of Corporations. Without attempting an exhaustive list, we may mention some of the more salient actions.

In the year 1905 a perpetual injunction was obtained from the Supreme Court against the principal packing companies, restraining them from combining and agreeing on prices at which their products were to be disposed of in States other than those of manufacture. In 1902 an injunction was obtained against the Federal Salt Company. This company had made arrangements whereby other com-

panies agreed neither to import, buy, nor sell salt except from and to the Federal Salt Company, and not to engage in or assist in the production of salt west of the Mississippi River during the continuation of this contract. This arrangement had enhanced the price of salt 400 per cent.

The decision in the Northern Securities case frustrated the attempt to centralise through a holding company the control of competing railways. Proceedings under the rebating section of the railway legislation led on June 22, 1906, to the imposition of fines totalling \$75,000 on four of the packing companies and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railway. Two individual defendants in New York, who had received rebates, were punished by fines and imprisonment, the penalty being \$6000 and four months' imprisonment in the first case, and \$4000 and three months' imprisonment in the second. This is the first time that rebating has actually been punished by imprisonment; and Attorney-General Moody hopes that it will have 'the most potent effect in checking the widespread practice of unlawful discriminations.' Early in October the New York Central Railway was found guilty of granting rebates on shipments made by the Sugar Trust. An arrangement had been entered into in 1904 whereby a rebate of five cents per hundred pounds was to be made. The information which led to this action being taken was collected in the first instance by the lieutenants of Mr W. R. Hearst, and was handed over by him to the Attorney-General. The railway was fined \$108,000, or about two dollars in fines for every dollar which it has recently received in rebates. The result is excellent; there is a stability in railway rates that has long been absent. So far, the suits instituted by the Attorney-General have led to the collection of over \$300,000 in fines, and the imprisonment of two freight brokers who conspired to get rebates. President Roosevelt's administration claims that the enforcement of the law has greatly improved the situation; and that, to quote the words of Secretary Taft, 'the fear of the law has been put into the hearts of the members of these great corporations.'

The most important of the actions the Government now has in hand is that against the Standard Oil Co. It is intended to proceed against this company on the ground that it has, contrary to law, been receiving dis-

eriminative rates. Investigations have been conducted by Federal Grand Juries in Ohio, New York, Kansas, and Illinois. In August the Grand Jury at Chicago returned ten indictments, covering 6428 counts, against the Standard Oil Co. for receiving rebates. These investigations are simply preliminary to more general action by the Government. In addition to the proceedings in the Federal courts, the Interstate Commerce Commission is conducting investigations under a resolution of Congress passed at its last session. In November last, Attorney-General Moody instituted an action against the Standard Oil Co. under the anti-trust Act. The stock at once fell from about 700 to 512. A favourable outcome in such a case will mean a very significant expansion of Federal power. In the prohibitions of the anti-trust legislation no provision is made for a company or a corporation which by mere accretion has come to control a dominating part of a particular industry. The Standard Oil claims to be a company, not a combination. In an action against it there will be involved, if its contention that it is a company is upheld, the question whether a monopoly possessed by one company is forbidden; and the further question whether mere size, apart from any overt act, subjects a company to the provisions of the anti-trust legislation. It is probable that, even with an expedited procedure, two years will elapse before the case is decided by the Supreme Court.

There is a danger at the present time that the prevailing fear of Trusts may go too far. The opinion of M. Leroy-Beaulieu, in his '*The United States in the Twentieth Century*' (p. x), that 'an unduly high opinion has been entertained of the dangers as well as of the strength of the Trusts, and of the part they have played in the development of American manufacture,' is undoubtedly justified. Especial attention has been devoted to the public dangers arising from inflated capitalisation; but time has shown that this is a weakness in the combinations. But the days of 'hands off' policy have passed; and it is well that it is so. At the same time the division of power between the Federal Government and the States renders difficult the work of regulation—a work which, apart from any question of constitutional limitations,

has inherent difficulties—and attracts attention to the limitations of the constitution. The State Governments, which were intended to be bulwarks of private right, have too often been the protectors of private greed. Regulation through the individual States is, in default of concerted action, futile ; it means irritation, not control.

It may be argued that it is within the power of Congress to pass an incorporation Act, and to grant to corporations so chartered the right to produce. But such corporations would carry on their manufacturing within the confines of some State or States ; they would therefore be subject to local regulation and taxation. This would involve radical industrial and political changes. It is the expediency, rather than the legality, of a Federal corporation law which presents a difficulty. The President said, in his Harrisburg speech,

'It is the narrow construction of the powers of the national government which in our democracy has proved the chief means of limiting the national power to cut out abuses, and which is now the chief bulwark of the great moneyed interests which oppose and dread any attempt to place them under efficient governmental control.'

It is on this ground that he has favoured the placing of insurance under national control, although the Courts have repeatedly decided that insurance is not commerce. But in the extension of powers, which he favours, the Government will have to proceed indirectly. The most that can be expected in the way of more thorough control of corporations is that they shall be required to take out licenses before engaging in interstate commerce. Under such an arrangement the granting of licenses could be made conditional on submission to regulation. Substantially this arrangement is involved in the provisions of the recent meat-inspection law, whose rigid provisions must be met, under penalty of exclusion from interstate commerce.

The weakness of the legislation passed under the interstate commerce clause is patent. The anti-trust law, a hurried compromise measure, in its sweeping prohibitions, makes no distinction between predominating industrial influence due to illicit favours or improper combinations and that due to legitimate economic conditions. The Act

to regulate railways has, by its prohibition of pooling (i.e. joint-purse arrangements), accelerated the movement towards consolidation. The Supreme Court has held that the rule of free competition laid down in the anti-trust Act applies to railways as well. By declaring illegal all agreements to maintain rates it laid down a technical doctrine which, if upheld in its entirety, would be subversive of business. Whether established formally or informally, agreements as to rates are absolutely essential. Such agreements exist to-day, and must of necessity exist; and, in acting under them, the railways are in technical disobedience to the law.

In his message to the New York Legislature in 1900, Governor Roosevelt said :

'Much of the legislation not only proposed but enacted against Trusts is not one whit more intelligent than the medieval Bull against the comet, and has not been one particle more effective.'

As President, in his annual message to Congress in 1905, he said :

'It is generally useless to try to stop all restraint on competition, whether this restraint be reasonable or unreasonable; and, when it is not useless, it is generally hurtful.'

In his message of Dec. 1906 he reiterated the warning.

'It is not possible completely to prevent it [consolidation]; and, if it were possible, such complete prevention would do damage to the body-politic.'

Though the Supreme Court has said that Congress has established the rule of free competition, and that it is not for the Court to question the industrial expediency of such legislation, there are some signs of a modification of this position. The Circuit Court of Appeals has held* that the Act must have a reasonable construction, and that it could not be the true meaning of the law that every attempt to monopolise any part of interstate commerce was illegal. Somewhat greater strength is given to this position by the decision of Mr Justice Brewer in the Northern Securities case. This decision

* *Whitwell v. Continental Tobacco Co.*, 60 C.C.A. Reports, 290.

was rendered by a bare majority, four judges, including the Chief Justice, dissenting. Though Justice Brewer was of the majority, he filed a separate decision, in which he said that

'Congress did not intend to reach and destroy those minor contracts in partial restraint of trade which the long course of decisions at common law had affirmed were reasonable, and ought to be upheld.'

This line of reasoning would cause the Court to look to the intent, not to the mere fact, of combination. It is abundantly manifest that, if the movement for Trust regulation in the United States is to be efficiently regulative, not simply prohibitory, it must recognise that the beneficial effect of untrammelled competition—even if it were possible to obtain it—is an outworn sophistry; and that the public is interested not in the mere limitation of competition, whatever be the cause of such limitation, but its effect on national prosperity.

In the enforcement of the laws against combinations, the punitive methods have been prohibitions and fines. Mr Bryan asks 'how many of the Trust magnates are in jail?' He contends that 'safety lies not in futile attempts at the restraint of Trusts, but in legislation which will make a private monopoly impossible.' As to what constitutes a 'private monopoly' he is extremely vague. 'The plan of attack,' he continues, 'must contemplate the total and complete overthrow of the monopoly principle in industry.' Again: 'The man who is in favour of regulating it [the private monopoly] might just as well take off the mask and declare himself; for you cannot regulate a private monopoly; it regulates you.'

While President Roosevelt stands for such regulation as will, to quote his favourite phrase, 'give a square deal,' he is, as the size and intricacy of the problem grow upon him, becoming more radical. The investigations of the Bureau of Corporations (whose latest report appeared in May) show that illicit railway favours have done much to build up the Standard Oil monopoly. The President holds that railway control is the central matter. The Government must possess full power to supervise and control the railways engaging in interstate traffic—power as thorough as that which it already exercises in regard

to the banking system. But it appears that he is at times doubtful of the successful outcome of the regulative policy. To him the problem is becoming twofold—the regulation of the Trusts and the regulation of large fortunes. Recently he has shown that he regards these as a complementary phase of the problem. In his 'muck-rake' speech, on April 13, 1906, he said that ultimately the nation would have to consider the imposition of progressive taxation with a view to preventing the owners of enormous fortunes handing on more than a certain amount to any one individual. To most this was a mere statement of his beliefs in regard to ultimate tendencies. But in his Harrisburg speech, on October 4, 1906, he stated his position in stronger language.

'It is our clear duty to see . . . that there is adequate supervision and control over the business use of the swollen fortunes of to-day, and also to determine the conditions upon which those fortunes are to be transmitted, and the percentage they shall pay to the Government whose protecting arm alone enabled them to exist. Only the nation can do this work. . . . I maintain that the national Government should have complete power to deal with all of this wealth which in any way goes into the commerce between the States—and practically all of it that is employed in the great corporations does thus go in.'

Had the proposition been simply one to obtain increased revenue through an inheritance tax it would, no doubt, have obtained a generous support. But the ultra-radicalism of a plan whereby social policy, not revenue, is to be the end in view is far in advance of public opinion. The connexion between the large fortunes and the illicit phases of the Trust problem is assumed, not proven. If the regulation and limitation of private wealth is to be undertaken, and if the Government is, in its discretion, to determine when a fortune is dangerous to the public—such determination being dependent upon the size of the fortune, not upon its use—such a course will not only be a dangerous invasion of private rights, but will also, of necessity, entail upon the Federal Government a systematic redistribution of wealth—a task for which it is manifestly unsuited.

S. J. MCLEAN,

Art. III.—DANTE'S 'INFERNO' AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY?

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8. *From St Francis to Dante.* By G. G. Coulton, M.A. London : Nutt, 1906.
- And other works.

IT is nearly six centuries since Dante wrote the 'Divina Commedia'; and from the time immediately succeeding his death until the present day commentators have ceaselessly striven to unfold the meaning hidden under the erudition of the author. Yet no Dante student is even now satisfied that he holds the whole secret of his master's thoughts; and, presumptuous as it must appear to proclaim a new law of interpretation, it can hardly be denied that the real clue to the mysteries of the poem is still to seek. The ostensible narrative of the 'Inferno' is an account of a journey through the region of eternal torment made by Dante under the guidance of Virgil; but, in the explanation of its true purpose which Dante gave to his patron Can Grande, he explained that the real allegorical subject lay hidden under this narrative and was distinct from it. Literally, he said, the subject of the 'Divina Commedia' was the state of souls after death; but the allegorical subject dealt with man still in a state of probation, 'man subject to the reward or punishment of justice, according as, through the freedom of the will, he

is deserving or undeserving.' In other words he declared the 'Divina Commedia,' allegorically interpreted, to be a record of human events.

In the following pages it will be shown that the narrative which lies on the surface of the 'Inferno,' viz. the journey through Hell, is altogether merged in the allegorical sense of the poem, and stands out as a mystic picture of human existence, or rather of the world as Dante knew it. It will be shown that the track followed by the travellers was the track of Dante's own life; that it begins with the dawn of existence, and proceeds to the moment of birth ; that it passes through the successive stages of early infancy, youth, manhood, and middle life, thence advancing prophetically to the chills of old age and the awful presence of Death. It will be shown that Dante, far from desiring to leave his meaning obscure, pressed it upon his readers at every opportunity ; that he laid a series of carefully prepared clues along the course of the apparent narrative, and that he was in places so indifferent to the *vraisemblance* of the Hell framework, that he inserted long passages which are only relevant to the allegory he had at heart. Finally, it will be shown that Dante planted a group of easily verified dates in the body of the narrative, from which, when compared with the known events of his life, the complete correspondence of the whole scheme of the 'Inferno' with his own experiences may be identified.

The device of concealing an esoteric meaning under an apparently straightforward narrative was one perfectly familiar to Dante and his readers, and forms the avowed plan of the 'Convito.' Before the Renaissance, Virgil was revered as mystic even more than as poet ; and the significance of Dante's emphasised imitation of Virgil lies in the fact that a coherent narrative, wholly unconnected with the subject of the poem, was held to be the real theme of the 'Æneid.' It was not merely that some sort of allegorical meaning was to be extorted from the forces of nature or from such an incident, for instance, as a shipwreck. That kind of allegorical interpretation is familiar to all students of Dante—too familiar, in fact, for it has blinded their eyes to the existence of the main allegorical subject. It was in a far more comprehensive sense that Dante and his favourite author, John of Salis-

bury,* were accustomed to trace in the 'Æneid' the diverse course of man's existence. The first book was symbolic of infancy. The fourth, fifth, and sixth books were typical of the season of adolescence and the need for temperance, and so on to the end, all the actual adventures of Æneas being merged in an entirely different purpose and *mise en scène*. Owing to the fact that students have long ceased to delve in Virgil's pages for allegory, it has unfortunately been forgotten that, in taking Virgil for his great symbol of human reason and proclaiming him to be his master in all respects, Dante held in deep veneration this particular aspect of his work.

In order to apprehend the allegorical subject of the 'Inferno,' the reader needs neither code nor cipher; he has but to alter his point of view; and, when once the eye is withdrawn from Hell, the whole beautiful fabric of Dante's philosophy of human life lies revealed,

'Like perspectives which, rightly gazed upon,
Show nothing but confusion; eyed awry
Distinguish form.'

The most impressive symbol in the 'Inferno' is the one with which it closes. Buried in the framework of Hell, it strikes the reader merely as a monstrous medieval fantasy; but, regarded as a symbol, the grandeur of the conception flashes into view, and every hitherto obscure word becomes fraught with meaning. Satan gnawing sinners in the pit of perdition, Satan's body the appointed ladder by which Dante was to climb to the realms of light—has not the most reverent student of Dante found himself daunted by this conception of justice? Here is Lucifer, Son of the Morning, fallen from his high estate; but it is Death, not Satan, that forms the theme throughout. For death in some glorified form, bearing souls to God, as Enoch was borne, formed, according to medieval theology, part of the original scheme of things, and became only a terror to man after the Fall. It is Death, not Satan, that stretches sable wings, stealthy and soft as the wings of a bat,† over the nether regions.

* See 'Convito,' iv, 24.

† 'Inf.' xxxiv, 49. Professor Platt points out that in the fresco at Pisa, which used to be called Orcagna's, Death is represented with the wings of a 'vipistrello.'

Death, not Satan, is emperor of that sorrowful kingdom,* the King of Hades. From Death, not Satan, proceeds that icy blast which chills all who approach his sphere. No one has yet discovered why Satan should wear three faces;† but Death under its most awful aspect, death self-inflicted, as was the case with the three victims mangled by Dante's symbolic figure, appears under hues which match the emotions of the suicide. To Judas Iscariot, who hung himself in shame, Death showed a face of scarlet; to Brutus, as Dante knew him in the pages of Plutarch, the face of Death was black with despair; and to Cassius, according to the same authority, it showed the hues of cowardice or fear, 'tra bianca e gialla.' Standing as Dante stood, and gazing at the contorted figures 'in the very jaws of Death,' the familiar words of the psalm strike upon the mind: 'They lie in the Hell like sheep; Death gnaweth upon them.'‡

Prophetically, Dante saw himself in that dying state concerning which St Augustine, in 'The City of God' (Bk. xiii), lengthily argues whether it be indeed death or life.

'Com' io divenni allor gelato e fioco,
Nol domandar, lettore, ch' io non lo scrivo,
Però ch' ogni parlar sarebbe poco.
Io non morii, e non rimasi vivo:
Pensa oramai per te, s' hai fior d' ingegno,
Qual io divenni, d' uno e d' altro privo.'

It would be impossible to present more vividly the sensations of a dying man, *in articulo mortis*, already stiff, and fainting into unconsciousness.

In assigning a double significance to the symbol under which he presented Death, while seeming merely to describe the Devil, Dante found ample assistance in the Bible. The Hebrew word 'Sheol,' which originally meant the grave, was commonly rendered as 'infernus' in the Vulgate; and there are many passages in the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the book of Job in which the word 'infernus' can only be understood of death. Moreover, in the Apocalypse death and hell are spoken of as one con-

* 'Inf.' xxxiv, 28: 'Lo emperador del doloroso regno.'

† *Ib.* 38 seq.

‡ *Ib.* 58-60; cf. Job xviii, 13: 'Devoret pulchritudinem cutis ejus, consumat bracchia illius primogenita mors.'

ception, as, for instance : 'Et mors et infernus dederunt mortuos suos, qui in ipsis erant. Et infernus et mors missi sunt in stagnum ignis' (Rev. xx, 13, 14). The words with which Dante describes the nethermost Hell all reflect biblical images of death: 'Il Punto dell' Universo,' 'il Fondo,' 'il Pozzo' are suggestive of the Pit. And the image of a lake is derived from Psalm 88, 6 : 'Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori : in tenebrosis, et in umbra mortis.'

Lastly, the force of Virgil's words must be considered as he and Dante stood in the actual presence :

‘Vexilla regis prodeunt *inferni*.’

The first three words are from a Latin hymn of great antiquity, still sung from the eve of Palm Sunday during Holy Week. Literally translated, the verse runs :

‘The banners of the King move forward :
The mystery shines forth of the Cross,
On which, in flesh, He who made our flesh
Was hung in ransom.’]

The words occur in one of the most solemn offices of the Church. The King is Christ Himself. By the addition of the word ‘*inferni*,’ Dante assigned the banners to the king of the lower regions. But it is difficult to believe that he would have subverted the meaning of this great hymn to transfer the sacred symbols of Christ’s authority to the devil. If, however, the interpolated word be restored to its commoner biblical meaning, it is at once apparent that the line as Dante used it is in entire accord with the spirit of the Passiontide hymn, in which the banners of the King of Sheol move forward towards the approaching triumph of the cross.

Here, then, was the end of the long journey. By this appointed ladder of Death, and not, forsooth, by climbing down the body of the Devil, Dante was to make his way undismayed in the arms of Reason to the region of Purgatory and ultimately to the Beatific Vision. The identification of this great symbol furnishes a clue to much more than the particular passage. The end is Death ; will not the beginning show the dawn of Life ?

There is no part of the whole poem more familiar to readers than the opening lines of the third canto, where the allegorical subject begins. The pilgrims stand before

a gateway; and, as it rises before them impalpable and mysterious, a way into hidden things, they read the dread inscription which strikes the key-note of their journey:

'Through me is the way into the city of woe;
 Through me is the way into the eternal pain;
 Through me is the way among the lost people.
 Justice moved my great Maker.
 Divine Power, Highest Wisdom, Primal Love made me.*
 Before me were no created things
 Except the eternal; and I eternally endure.
 Lay aside all hope, ye who enter.'

Even in this dark period of medieval theology it would have been an awful thing to assert that the first work of creation, the first exercise of 'il primo Amore,' was the building of Hell, or rather of the entrance to it, eternal damnation. But the gateway is Life. Through the portal of life men pass to their sojourn in the city of sorrows. Through the portal of life men must tread, even though it is to reap for themselves eternal woe, even though they go but to be numbered among lost souls. First among all created things was Life, eternal among the eternal, for 'In principio erat Verbum . . . in ipso Vita erat.' By Father, Son, and Holy Spirit life was in the beginning created. On the Gateway of Life Dante, who had proved human hopes† to be vain, and had no illusions about earthly happiness, inscribed out of his bitter experience,

'Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate.'

The dawn of life must not be confounded with the moment of birth. According to Florentine usage, the year of our Lord dates not from His birth but from the moment of His conception; and His age is reckoned from the Annunciation, March 25. Furnished with this clue, the reader is prepared to find that Dante must first pass through the Vestibule, or Ante-Inferno. The situation of this region on the outskirts of Hell has always been veiled in mystery; and the mystery deepens when attention is directed to the fact that this circle contains not

* i.e. the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost.

† 'The birth of eternal hope springs later in the heart.' See 'Paradiso,' xxv, 43 seq.

merely those who are condemned to its limits, but also all those who are to pass under Charon's jurisdiction, and are impelled to hasten on to their doom. Who were the occupants of this region? They were the shades of those 'who had never been alive,'* of whom the prophet wrote, 'And some there be which have no memorial, who are perished as though they had never been, and are become as though they had never been born.'† Dante was in fact in a region of embryos. Here were no stars, for such influences affect men only after birth. They have no hope of death. As damned souls, none in Hell had that; but it is mentioned as the special curse of those 'who are become as though they had never been born.' Their blind life is so base that they are envious even of the torments endured by those who have at least lived. Hence, as abortions, apt neither for good nor ill, justice and mercy alike disdain them.

Suddenly, as he traversed this circle, Dante found himself nearing a river, on the banks of which souls were eagerly waiting to be ferried across. Not till he himself stood on the banks of Acheron, so Virgil told him, would he be able to understand the impulse which drove them forward. Here Charon, symbol of time, stood ready to ferry the shades, in the ostensible narrative, to eternal retribution, but in the allegorical sense, to begin the journey of human existence. There need be no scruple about Virgil's presence, the presence of Reason, at this stage in Dante's life. There is ample justification for the image in the words of the preacher: 'To fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and it was created with the faithful in the womb.' Mark Charon's stern attitude towards Dante, and Virgil's explanation: 'This way passes no soul which is good.' The stain of sin rests on all men of the seed of Adam from their birth; and in this sense, in entering the world, Dante was himself one of the 'perduta gente.' His passage over the river was a mystery hidden from his eyes. It is indicated by a flash of lightning, and in a swoon he was conveyed to the other side.

To trace in detail the symbolic sense of the 'Inferno'

* 'Inf.' iii, 64: 'che mai non fur vivi.'

† 'Ecclius.' xliv, 9.

would require a volume. A brief consideration of the time indications or dates inserted in the poem can alone here be attempted, with a view to laying bare the framework of the great allegorical theme. The time assigned to the journey was twenty-four hours—a familiar symbol of the life of man, which Dante had already made use of in the 'Convito.' Seven elaborate allusions to the passing of time are inserted in the 'Inferno'; but so unfamiliar to the modern reader are the astronomical calculations employed by Dante, that it is only recently, through the labours of Dr Moore, that a clear idea has been obtained of the hours indicated. Elaborate as they are, the time-references are curiously indefinite and, with one remarkable exception, indicate no precise moment. They are fixed as follows by Dr Moore ('Time References,' p. 42):—

- (1) Towards evening ('Inf.' ii, 1); (2) just past midnight ('Inf.' vii, 98); (3) after 3 A.M. ('Inf.' xi, 113); (4) a little after 6 A.M. ('Inf.' xx, 124–127); (5) 7 A.M. ('Inf.' xxi, 112); (6) early in the afternoon ('Inf.' xxix, 10); (7) night coming on ('Inf.' xxxiv, 68).

These are the indications of time; and it might seem that to build up a chronological table on this foundation were a hopeless task, neither the hour of commencing the journey, nor that in which it closed, being defined. Yet Dante has not left his readers without sufficient clue. Seventy-two years divided by twenty-four give three years to each hour; and, the life of man being, according to the 'Convito,'* as an arch having its keystone at the age of 35, this moment will be reached, dating, as has been seen, from conception, twelve hours from the commencement of the course. This central date Dante has given with the utmost precision; first in the opening line of the poem and again in Canto xxi, 112. It fixes the year 1300 as the time of the great crisis in Dante's life, at which time he was 35; and it fixes this as the year which found him passing through the sphere of the barrators, the time being then, in the ostensible narrative, 7 A.M. To reckon back twelve hours for the commencement of the journey is to place it at 7 P.M., the hour usually assumed for its commencement from internal evidence in Canto ii, the corresponding year being 1265.

* 'Conv.' iv, c. 23.

The reader is at no loss to understand the vagueness which attaches to the intermediate references, and to the close. Dante could hardly so map out life as to assign so many years to education, so many to love, and so on; but, since certain phases ran their course simultaneously, he seems rather to have dealt with each as complete in itself, in sequence as it arose in the course of his own experience. He left untold, because he did not know, the exact length of time occupied by the journey; but he allowed space for the normal span of life allotted by the Psalmist.

It will be seen that the day is divided by these references to time into seven periods of unequal length; and it is necessary to consider these briefly, as they occur.

First Period (Cantos iii, iv). The travellers passed through the portal of life at 7 P.M., hence, reckoning a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes for the nine months' passage of the Vestibule, they would land on the far shore of Acheron at 7.20 P.M., the year indicated by the time-reference being that of Dante's birth, 1265.

Second Period (Cantos iv-vii), from 7.20 to about midnight; a period of nearly five hours. It embraces the first fourteen years of Dante's life, from 1265 to about 1279, and touches allegorically on infancy, early education, and those pleasures and pains classified by Aristotle as childish or boyish. Examination of the text will show that the first sound which broke on Dante's ears was the sighing of infants who died before baptism.* Next, still very early† in the journey of life, he came to a faint perception of the great poets and heroes of old. The period of education, when he might dream himself sixth among the poets of the world, is treated in a parable under the familiar figure of the Castle of Philosophy, with seven gates symbolising the Trivium and Quadrivium, or seven liberal arts, in which the youth of the Middle Ages was early trained.

Next in order he has placed the zone of love. But for the revelation which Dante has given in the 'Vita Nuova' of his initiation at nine years old into the torments of the lover, one might well hesitate at finding a place assigned

* 'Inf.' iv, 26, 30, 35.

† *Ib.* 67: 'Non era lunga ancor la nostra via
Di qua dal sonno.'

to this phase of emotion at so early a stage in his development. But this is one of the many instances in which the revelations of the allegorical theme are borne out by the facts of Dante's life. The raging winds and moaning unrest of the lovers' circle were succeeded by the temptations of appetite under the figure of Cerberus, and of money under the figure of Plutus. All three fall under the category of childish temptations in that classification of sin given by Aristotle in the 'Ethics' (iii, 12); and, in order that the reader might not overlook this important passage and be puzzled at finding sins of this magnitude set so early in life, Dante emphatically called attention to it by closely questioning Virgil;* the purport of all his queries throughout the poem being the enlightenment of the reader, more especially in regard to the allegorical subject. The fact that the victims to these sins are displayed in the basest subjection to their passions must not blind the reader to the clear indications that Dante, dreading their dominion, was himself never enslaved. Unmoved by the threats of Appetite, he walked with measured tread 'meditating somewhat on the life to come';† and he stood serene in the mad rush to spend or hoard, pondering over the springs of success in human affairs;‡ and referring the vagaries of fortune to a higher law.

Third Period (Cantos vii-xi), from about midnight till soon after 3 A.M.; a little over three hours. These are the nine or ten years between 1279 and 1289 approximately, and bring Dante to the age of twenty-three or twenty-four. They comprise, in the ostensible narrative, the passage of the Styx, and the long-disputed entry into the City of Dis, among the Heretics.

The Styx signifies the world, in the sense used by the apostle when he declared true religion to consist in remaining unspotted from it; and here Dante, just entering life, was a witness to those dispositions which

* 'Inf.' xi, 67-74. 'Why are the occupants of the first five circles placed in a different category from the rest,' was what Dante wanted to know. And the answer was, 'Why are you so unusually obtuse? These sins are the impulsive transgressions of early youth, and as such they differ radically from the deliberate vices of mature age.'

† 'Inf.' vi, 102: 'Toccando un poco la vita futura.'

‡ 'Inf.' vii, 67 seq.

hinder men from behaving rightly in intercourse with others, placed by Aristotle among the boyish sins of 'incontinence' and punished outside the City of Dis. It would seem that Dante meant Phlegyas to stand for both Anger and Pride in the moral sense of the poem. It is Pride, as St Augustine and Thomas Aquinas are never tired of enforcing, which carries men to heresy; it is Anger which plunges them into the muddy waters of contention in their intercourse with each other; and Phlegyas acted as carrier to the Styx as well as to the City of Dis. Yet neither Pride nor Anger, in the sense of being 'deadly sins,' could set Dante forward on his divinely appointed journey; and it is quite evident that Phlegyas, though a doubtful character, served the travellers well. In the allegorical sense all these mythological personages symbolise 'dispositions' rather than sins; and both Pride and Anger, though dangerous passions, are worthy motions of the mind when restrained by reason. Pride, in its best sense, raises men secure above the petty quarrels and ambitions of the world in which they live; and of Anger, Aristotle says:

'He who is angry on the right occasions and with the right persons, and also in the right manner and at the right season, and for the right length of time, is praised. We call him gentle.'

Such an exhibition of the right kind of anger Dante permitted himself in the encounter with Filippo Argenti.

In the succeeding passages, describing the obstruction caused by the demons to their entry into the City of Dis, the framework of Hell drops almost out of sight; the state of souls after death is barely alluded to; it is the inner history of Dante's life which is the theme. He had reached a crisis when he was brought face to face with conflicting theories of truth, including not only the philosophies of the Ancients, but also the contradictory teachings of a divided Christendom. He applied abstract Reason* to the task of reconciling the countless problems which barred his progress; and for a time this seemed a hopeful course. Reason was devoted entirely to this task, while Dante's personal opinions and wishes were held

* 'Inf.' viii, 89-108. Virgil, acting on occasions independently of Dante, typifies 'abstract Reason.'

in abeyance. The state of his mind is exactly mirrored in the line :

'Che 'l si e 'l no nel capo mi tenzona.'

Then came the agonising period when Reason was compelled to own itself baffled. Hydra-headed controversies, under the figure of the Furies, swooped down upon him, deafening him with their din, before which Reason kept silence.* Then came the threatened onslaught of Unbelief, ever following hard on Controversy, ready to turn the heart to stone. Finally, the Spirit of Truth,† in direct antithesis to the Spirits of Error, came to the rescue brushing aside the fallacies which gathered ever fresh in his path, using his left arm with preoccupied manner, in token that Truth has higher functions than the mere rebuking of doubt.

It is significant that this 'despicable race' of false doctrines had of old clustered round the Great Portal, assailing men on their entrance into life. But Christ freed men from the dominion of Error at their birth, and postponed the inevitable contest till the Divine Messenger of Truth could be invoked by their mature Reason. It agrees with this interpretation that, just when the demons were driven back from the Portal by the sacrifice of the Cross, the great inner walls of this castle of Error were broken down, and a way of escape was provided for such as passed along that road. When this region is regarded merely as a part of Hell, this earthquake is inexplicable, for the souls in torment were not in any degree affected by the ruin of the walls which bounded their territory. We are forced to the conclusion that, if in the sense of contemplating the pit of damnation Dante stood almost alone in his journey, in the allegorical sense he was in a region where Christ had made it possible for men to find a foothold in their escape from the temptations of doubt and false doctrine. This period of Dante's life, which ended with the victory of Faith, brought him face to face with the darker side of human nature, and fitly closes with the discourse on sin already referred to.

Fourth Period (Cantos xii-xx), from soon after 3 till about 6 A.M.; rather under three hours. These are the eight

* 'Inf.' ix, 48; 'e tacque a tanto.'

† St John, iv, 1, 6,

years between 1289 and 1297 approximately, comprising the years of Dante's life between the ages of 24 and 32. It was a period of full activity ; and happily the records of Dante's life enable his individual experiences to be recognised in the allegorical theme. Within less than three hours the travellers crossed the three *gironi* allotted to the Violent, made their difficult descent upon Gerione, and passed over the first four bridges from which the pitfalls of Malebolge became visible. Nine cantos—a third of the space devoted to the entire journey—are occupied with the events crowded into this short time. It is difficult to account for such disproportion in pace in the ostensible journey through Hell; but in the history of men's lives there are often such epochs when time moves slowly because events crowd thick, and the mind is moving rapidly. Dante held that such times occur in youth 'because our life hurries in its ascent, but holds back in its descent.'*

In this epoch, and the one which immediately succeeded it, all the most stirring events of Dante's life were included. We can but briefly indicate the points in which these events correspond with the symbolic narrative. Three wholly dissimilar regions were included within the bounds of the seventh circle, wherein the Violent against man, against self, and against God, or against nature were confined. First came the river Flegetonte, running with boiling blood ; then came a dense wood ; lastly, there was a tract of desert sand, on which flames were perpetually descending. A tributary of Flegetonte running underground through the wood, emerged fiery red into the open at one point and forced its way across the plain of fire, affording by means of its stone margins, on which no flames could fall, two safe pathways for those who passed that way. For whom, in the ostensible narrative, were these pathways intended ?

As guardian of the whole region stood the Minotaur, symbolising the passionate impulses of early manhood, 'appetito concupisibile ed irascibile.'† At the age of 24, which the time-reference here indicates, Dante was in active military service, took part in the battle of Campaldino, and was probably present at the siege of Caprona.

* 'Conv.' iv, 24.

† Ib. 26.

Accordingly, he has represented himself as reaching that stage in the journey of life when he passed under the dominion of the 'warlike spirit,' typified by the Centaurs. When under the command of Reason, the 'appetito irascibile,' as Dante elsewhere calls the Centaur, is of the utmost service to man, though, unregulated, it has a thousand mischievous manifestations, and in particular is wont to torment those who love violence. Virgil made it clear from the beginning that Dante was impelled by necessity to this experience, not by delight.* He had, in fact, no pleasure in fighting for its own sake; and it is significant that Reason, counselling him to mount the Centaur, then drew back. 'He shall be first for you, while I take the second place.' At the moment of taking part in active military operations, the arguments of Reason must give place to the martial instinct. Reason itself dictates that this must be so.

The year after the battle of Campaldino the death of Beatrice occurred. In the 'Vita Nuova,' and also in the 'Convito,' Dante has left a vivid description of the despair to which he was at this time reduced, and of the extent to which he was haunted by the alluring thought of death.† Although there are no grounds for inferring that he actually contemplated suicide, it seems clear that he passed through a phase in life when the force of such a temptation was made known to him, and lent him a tender pity for such as had succumbed. The reader is prepared, therefore, to find that from the stirring scenes enacted on Flegetonte Dante fell straight‡ into the pathless thicket of the suicides, the resort of horrible Perturbations, through which Reason safely guided him by leading him to reflect on God's judgments of such sinners.

From this wood they passed direct on to that part of the sands where those who rebelled against the decrees of God, exemplified by Capaneus, were exposed to the danger of falling flames. Virgil's loud and angry denunciation of

* 'Inf.' xii, 87: 'Necessità l'conduce e non diletto.'

† 'Vita Nuova,' xxxii, canz. 3:

'E spesse fiate pensando alla morte
Me ne viene un desio tanto soave
Che mi tramuta lo color nel viso.'

‡ 'Inf.' xiii, 1:

'Non era ancor di la Nesso arrivato
Quando noi ci mettemmo per un bosco.'

this crime was followed by something akin to a reconciliation—‘Poi si rivolse a me con miglior labbia.’* If, after banishing the ‘desio tanto soave’ of death, Dante trod himself† the arid waste of defiance against fate, it was but for a brief season; and he was soon in full accord with Reason. The parable‡ at this point is to be understood as an attempt to justify the ways of God to man; the gist of it being that men’s woes are in effect of their own making, and that the fountains of Hell, far from being an arbitrary creation of God, have their rise in the hearts of sinners of all ages.

Immediately succeeding this epoch in the poet’s experience his marriage took place. We are led to the conclusion that by the appointed channel in which hot blood is cooled, a safeguard against the ugly temptations of the day, Dante meant to indicate marriage.§ It is to be noted that there were two margins, for Dante says that he walked on one of them, thus showing the existence of some other safe track.

In the sequence of events as they stand in the allegorical theme is now placed Dante’s acquisition of ‘complete experience’|| of usury. The natural inference that Dante had occasion about this time to borrow money has been remarkably verified by the discovery of a deed¶ recording the fact that, within a year of his marriage, Dante and his brother borrowed sums of money, amounting in all to about thirty thousand francs, from certain usurers in Florence. This, then, is the explanation of the presence of the usurers in this group of sinners. That Reason should counsel the step, and yet that Dante should be aware that in his actual dealings with these men he had acted without his usual judgment—he parted

* ‘Inf.’ xiv, 67.

† It seems clear that Dante trod on this part of the sand from Virgil’s admonition :

‘Or mi vien dietro e guarda che non metti
Ancor li piedi nell’ arena arsiccia’ (xiv, 73).

‡ ‘Inf.’ xiv, 94 seq.

§ Cf. 1 Cor. vii, 9: ‘Melius est enim nubere, quam uri.’ Cf. also Canto xvi, 45.

|| ‘Inf.’ xvii, 37, 38:

‘Quivi il Maestro: “Acciocche tutta plena
Esperienza d’esto giron porti.”’

¶ Witte, ‘Essays on Dante.’ He quotes as his authority Gargani, ‘Della Casa di Dante.’

from Reason—is wonderfully indicated in the text; as also that his mind was preoccupied with weightier affairs,* and that the negotiations were unduly protracted. He hurried away to take his seat on Gerione, the strange beast which was ready to bear him to a new scene.

Dante was now drawn decisively into the current of political life. In 1295 he was named a member of the Special Council of the Florentine Republic, consisting of eighty of the most influential citizens; and undoubtedly a stirring period of political activity preceded as well as followed his election. The symbol of Leviathan for the body-politic has been familiar from the days of Cicero down to recent times. Gerione is a curious blend of sacred and classical imagery, descending on one hand from Job and Isaiah, and on the other from Plutarch through Cicero. In the 'Polycraticus' of John of Sarum, a work from which Dante drew many of his illustrations and symbols, both sources are to be found combined; and the figure of Gerione is painted and interpreted almost as he stands in the 'Inferno,' but with a prolixity which runs through many chapters. 'The face was the face of a just man.' In 1295 the enactments of justice had lately been ratified; everything promised well for the future; and a Florentine citizen might, with better show of reason than ever before or for many years after, feel impelled to take part in the government of his city. The body of Gerione was that of a serpent, full of guile. This was the well-known characteristic of Florentine diplomacy. The innumerable shields and gay designs covering the body were emblems of the Guilds which constituted the real power; and here Dante took his seat. In the tail Dante made use of the accepted symbol of democracy, swaying idly in the void yet ready for mischief. The beast rested his body on the stone margin, both Aristotle and Cicero insisting on the principle that marriage forms the groundwork and base of the body-politic.

Mounted on Gerione, Dante was at first unable to distinguish anything, until, startled by a loud noise, he leaned over and beheld, by the flames rising from below,

* 'Inf.' xvii, 76. Virgil was busy preparing for their descent,

that the creature to which he had entrusted himself was moving downwards in wide circles. The evils which drew nearer on all sides were the only symptoms of motion. Such would be the experience of a just man on joining, in all innocence, some corrupt corporation. For some time the proceedings would all seem obscure. Then, roused by some clamour on the part of the public, he would turn his attention more fixedly on the end in view, and become aware, from evils shifting in character, but continually more manifest, that the body with which he had connected himself was pursuing a downward course. Such were Dante's experiences, summarised in the descent on Gerione, the individual actions being left to be traced in greater detail in the region of Malebolge.

That the realm through which Dante was passing symbolised the world as he knew it, is a fact which receives abundant confirmation in the ensuing episodes. The stone causeways which led from the great encircling stone wall down to the lowest pit were ten in number; and the track which Dante pursued was his own individual way, the result of choice made under the guidance of Reason. On either hand he perceived men sunk in crime, tortured by the very sins they were in act to commit. 'Every inordinate mind is its own punishment,' St Augustine says; and from the men in the first Bolgia, whose pleasant vices were made the whips to scourge them, each fresh form of torture bore witness to the eternal truth of the master's words.

Regarded as a whole, the region of Malebolge typifies the duties of the State in respect of persons and things.* But it is the ill-performance of these duties which is most clearly brought under notice. The bridges over the Bolge symbolise the virtues directly opposed to the crimes punished below. Each one Dante sought and found with the aid of Reason. Some were hard to mount; but, with one significant exception—that in which Eternal Justice had swept the bridge away in the rise of the new dispensation—they were all accessible. Through all the varied course a continual comment is maintained on the condition of the road; and this is out of all relation to the souls in torment. At every point

* Justice, as defined in the fifth book of the 'Ethics.'

attention is diverted from disembodied spirits to Dante's own footsteps, his own difficulties, emotions, shortcomings, and triumphs. In this brief *résumé* of the allegorical theme it is not possible to do more than refer to one or two specific instances. The fourth period ends as Dante is standing on the fourth bridge, looking down on those who had outraged Reason by practising magical arts.

Fifth Period (Cantos xxi, xxii), extending from about 6 A.M. till exactly 7, and embracing the three years between 1297 and 1300, when Dante reached the age of thirty-five.

From the bridge which symbolised fidelity to the voice of Reason, Dante pursued his course until he stood on the highest point ('il colmo') of that which symbolises fidelity to the State. Below rolled the river of pitch in which the barrators were submerged—the pitch which none can touch without being defiled, the lucre the apostles were wont to call 'filthy.' Here, to Dante's clear vision, swallowed up in their own unlawful gains, lay the base politicians who had betrayed their trust. A band of demons, armed with sharp prongs, circulated over the whole region, cruelly misusing such as lifted their heads out of the pitch. The demons here, as in the first Bolgia, typify the evil passions of the souls in torment. So long as the barrator is absorbed in his gains, his passions are quiescent. But so soon as he is roused to fresh activities, whether by restlessness or discontent, he is cursed and horribly tormented, by lust for wealth, for power, for revenge, by all the fierce desires which consume the office-seeker and the office-holder, until, 'torn by conflicting passions which war one against another,' he is momentarily thankful to find a refuge in his former condition. Such is the symbolic sense of the vivid battle of the demons in the twenty-second canto, a common figure of speech boldly translated into drama.

Dante was peering at the furtive movements beneath him when Virgil invited him to behold a terrifying sight. From the summit of that virtue on which their feet were standing, as they believed, in security, a wretch who had been subdued by the passion for unlawful gain was hurled headlong to his appointed place, only to fall

a prey to even baser passions lurking, it would seem, under the shadow of justice itself ('che del ponte avean coperchio'). Virgil now went forward to discover the right path. To interpret the ensuing scene, Dante's method of rapidly dramatising his mental processes must be apprehended. Thoughts are no sooner framed, emotions no sooner felt, than they assume corporeal form, and, passing from abstractions to individuals, begin actively to influence the event. Thus Dante described his situation when, encompassed by passions which threatened his moral safety, he sought for an honourable course of action. Here is Reason, secure in consciousness of treading the divinely appointed way, while Dante keeps personal hopes and fears in the background. Here are the mean Passions which haunt disgraced politicians cowering in impotence. Here is the Master-Passion fencing, as it were, with that calm and apparently unbiased judgment which desired only to be done for ever with the sphere of office. Every line of these cantos bears witness to Dante's conviction that to walk morally unharmed through the mazes of party politics was not at that time an easy thing to do, yet it is equally obvious that his conscience was clear from any guilt of participation in bartray. The demons threatened him indirectly but never touched him, nor even addressed him personally. It is, however, indicated that he believed, in one vital instance, his judgment to have been at fault; and this is in entire accord with Boccaccio's summary of the situation:—

'Dante set the whole forces of his mind into the task of bringing into accord the divided factions of his republic . . . but, when he perceived that his labours were vain, and that the minds of his hearers were obstinately fixed, he at first designed, believing it to be God's judgment, to abandon altogether every public office and live privately by himself. Afterwards he was drawn aside from this purpose by the allurements of glory, by empty popular favour . . . moreover, he was moved to believe that, if time were granted, he might be able to do far more good to his city by still retaining power in public affairs than by living privately remote from all.' ('Life of Dante,' ed. 1825, p. 50.)

It was during this period of doubt, when the Master-Passion was insidiously triumphing, that the hour

sounded and the 'mezzo del cammin di nostra vita' was reached.

Sixth Period (Cantos xxii-xxix), from 7 A.M. till past midday, a long period, embracing the events of at least fifteen years. 'Yesterday, five hours later than this hour, 1266 years were completed since the way was broken here.' Stated thus, as linked to the most solemn event in the history of the world, the date is one of tremendous importance in Dante's eyes. The time is 7 A.M. The date is April 1300. The year of Dante's age is 35. The moment synchronises with the opening line of the 'Divina Commedia,' when Dante's feet were straying in the 'selva erronea' and his path was impeded by spiritual enemies before which his courage failed.

The scanty historical records which survive reveal Dante at this period closely involved in the struggle to maintain the independence of Florence, threatened as it was on the one hand by the conspiracies of the nobles, and on the other by the ambitious and crafty Boniface. The clash of interests, the greed and unscrupulousness of the contending parties stand out in vivid relief in Villari's history of this epoch. During those days, weeks or months of doubt and distress which Dante has symbolised in the first canto of the 'Inferno,' it is evident that the instability of his position as one honest man among a crowd of barrators was forcibly present to him; and he 'at first designed to abandon altogether every public office.' The vulgar passions, which moved alike his opponents and his supporters, could not approach him; but some Master-Passion, before which all the rest must eringe, insidiously betrayed his reason. And in what way? Malebolge was no arbitrary territory, but a picture of the world as Dante knew it; and there was no escape from one region of it but by the bridge which stretched out over the next pitfall. The sixth Bolgia, immediately succeeding that of the barrators, was tenanted by Hypocrites; and Dante's intention to press forward was checked by the representations of Malacoda, who symbolises that subtle thirst for power which can betray the most upright ruler to believe it to be his duty to remain in office, contrary to the dictates of his own judgment. The demon's fraud lay in persuading Dante that, though the bridge at that point had been broken down by the

earthquake which took place at the moment of the Crucifixion, another safe exit would be found farther on if he would only bear to the left. In order to carry his point and escape from the sphere of politics, Dante perceived that he must drop, in appearance at least, to the level of the Hypocrites.

The train of reasoning seems to be this. If Dante threw up office, he must state his grounds for doing so. He abhorred its temptations; he dreaded their effects as shown on the creatures round him; he doubted his own strength. But he knew that this admission would sink him in the world's estimation to the level of that band of religious hypocrites whose favourite virtue was self-abasement, the 'voluntary humility' abhorred by the apostle. Such men were a familiar feature* in medieval life, and sucked rich advantage out of their professions of virtue. The bridge across the Hypocrites' pitfall, which might have supported him, symbolised the heathen virtue best defined perhaps as 'conscious rectitude.'† But that plank had been struck away once and for all when, by the spotless sacrifice for sin, the iniquity of man's heart was laid open. Since self-esteem afforded no refuge to the Christian, nothing but a gulf of abasement, an open confession of failure, opened before his feet. Evidently, so the subtle tempter argued, the moment for decisive action had not yet arrived. It would be better to struggle on for a while, remaining within the old sphere of temptation till he could find some way out which should be free from any danger of contaminating him with a taint of hypocrisy. He yielded, and came afterwards to acknowledge with shame‡ that Reason had been betrayed by the passions of office. 'Dante resolved then to continue his course among the fading honours and vain pomp of public office.'§

* There are many chapters descriptive of the religious hypocrite in 'Polycreticus.'

† Dante bore always in mind that ethics underwent radical alterations in the light of the Gospel, and he adapted his 'world' to it by representing these alterations to have taken place through the agency of the earthquake. The disappearance of 'high-mindedness'—which is a prominent feature in Aristotle's catalogue of virtues—from the Christian system, compelled all men to walk through the valley of humiliation. Dr Moore has defined Aristotle's *μεγαλοψύχία* as 'the virtue of well-grounded self-esteem.'

‡ 'Inf.' xxiii, 145, 146. § Boccaccio, 'Vita di Dante,' ed. 1825, p. 51.

It is well known that the period immediately succeeding the date now reached—June, July, and August, 1300—was that in which Dante held office as one of the priors of the city. He came afterwards to ascribe all his misfortunes to his consent to assume this office. There is good reason to suspect that he boldly personified, in the demon passions who accompanied him, the Florentines who were his fellow-priors during these months when he pursued his course, full of misgivings, much harassed by his escort, witness of the shifts and humiliations to which the dishonest place-holder is exposed, until, after violent uproar and scandal, he found himself momentarily in a place of solitude where deliberation became once more possible.* Throughout the years 1300 and 1301 Dante continued a disgusted witness of deeds enacted among barrators. The sudden cessation of all the foul influences which had hitherto proved almost unendurable, suggests absence from Florence and from official duties, a temporary lull during which anxieties, past and future, held the poet's mind to the exclusion of all else.

It was during this period that the final decision to abandon his present way of life was reached. To what point in his history his sudden flight in Virgil's arms is to be assigned there is no means of judging. It probably relates to some decisive step in connexion with the Florentine republic, of which no documentary evidence exists. It was a step counselled by Reason and taken sharp to the right, indicating triumph over temptation; and it was taken only just in time. All the ungovernable passions of the region were in full cry after them, and had actually caught them up, when they were baffled by the new attitude which Dante assumed. If we may venture to conclude that the momentary lull, related by Dante in the opening lines of Canto xxiii, referred to the time immediately preceding his unlawful condemnation and the circulation of all the atrocious calumnies which led to his death-sentence, is it not possible to stand for a moment in his position and understand the overwhelming passions of rage, hatred, and revenge which made ready to sweep over his soul? A man might well know in his heart that he would be lost should he suffer such passions

* 'Inf.' xxiii, 1.

to overtake him. In imagination he would see himself surrounded, struggling, vanquished, sunk for ever in a slough of bitterness and wrath. The refuge was close at hand ; it lay not in self-justification but in abasement. And so, humbling himself while fierce denunciations spent themselves on the empty air, he stood secure, fortified by the approval of Reason, wrapped in Virgil's embrace, 'come suo figlio,' as in a father's arms.

The remaining years of this period must be briefly summarised. They were passed, heavily enough, in the society of hypocrites, thieves, false counsellors and sowers of discord. If this picture of the state of Italy, as it showed itself to the banished statesman, seem too dark and lurid, it is hardly possible for the student of those times to label it as overcoloured. It must be remembered that the ascent of the bridges gave scope for the practice of the opposing virtue ; and it is not without strong confirmation from history that we find Dante vindicating his honour by lingering on the heights of these rugged causeways in the delivery of upright counsels, or hailed * among the tortured intriguers who tore Italy to pieces as a man unlike themselves. The ground covered in the ostensible narrative is small in comparison with the time occupied over this part of the journey.

Seventh Period (Cantos xxix–xxxiv), from after mid-day till evening. This might be six hours, or it might be more or less ; it is entirely indeterminate. In Dante's life it includes the time after the age of fifty or fifty-one until the hidden moment of his death. In the narrative one more pitfall is avoided, one more height attained, before Dante is summoned by Virgil to a new scene, not without a rebuke for having allowed his attention to be so long engaged by the trivial and degrading disputes which were typical of the age.† Accordingly, he turned his back on political affairs,‡ and for a time walked uncertain of the future,§ until suddenly a warning note resounded in his ears and startled him to a perception of dim gigantic forms towards which his steps were tending. Six of these mysterious beings are named ; and four are de-

* 'Inf.' xxviii, 70 : 'Tu, cui colpa non condanna.'

† 'Inf.' xxx, 131.

‡ 'Inf.' xxxi, 7.

§ *Ib.* 10, 11.

scribed with a detail which undoubtedly indicates a subtle symbolical signification. All stood with their feet planted in the 'Pozzo' or lowest pit, but from the waist upwards they towered into the region above.

It is clear that the Giants held a threefold office in the purposes of the poem. In the ostensible narrative, the guardians of the group of Traitors, they discharged a double function in the allegorical subject—one in the upper region, where they acted as means of transport to the 'Pozzo,' the other down below, where they were guardians of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, companions of Lucifer. The choice of Giants for the symbol worked felicitously in all respects. Dante was entirely scriptural when he pictured his 'Punto dell' Universo,' the centre of the earth and seat of Death, as guarded by the dread Rephaim, of whom Lucifer himself was chief, differing from the rest in degree only, not in kind. In the Vulgate version of the Bible the connexion between the Giants (*Heb. Rephaim*) and the dead is very close. They are constantly spoken of as synonymous;* and the Hebrew tradition which made Sheol, or the Valley of Death, the home of the spirits of the Giants—mysterious offspring of the sons of God and the daughters of man—was well known to medieval theologians.

But how was it possible that the Giants could set Dante forward on his path as he undoubtedly expected them to do? In any survey of life from beginning to end, such as Dante planned in the 'Inferno,' the point must inevitably be reached when retrospect must be abandoned for prophetic vision. To labour after glimpses into futurity was one of the burning interests of the Middle Ages; and an astonishing amount of energy was diverted from legitimate research to this blind alley of speculation. Dante's attitude towards soothsayers and prognosticators was sufficiently uncompromising to leave no doubt that he held their investigations in abhorrence. But he represents himself as uncertain which among

* Is. xxvi, 14: 'Morientes non vivant, gigantes non resurgent. (A.V., 'They are dead, they shall not live. They are deceased, they shall not rise.') Prov. xxi, 16: 'Vir qui erraverit a via doctrinæ, in cœtu gigantium commorabitur.' Is. xiv, 9: 'Infernus subter conturbatus est in occursum adventus tui: Suscitavit tibi gigantes.' Many other passages could be quoted.

several divinely-appointed vehicles in his path he should make use of to pursue prophetically his pilgrimage until it set him in the presence-chamber of Death.

We have already discovered the original of Gerione in the pages of John of Sarum; and it is therefore with some strong anticipation of coming enlightenment that we find, in the second book of 'Polycreticus,' a lengthy treatise on the methods by which men peer into the hidden mysteries of death. Casting aside all unlawful means (for the Giants, however unsatisfactory, made part of God's eternal ordinances), there remained several sources, not prohibited by ecclesiastical authority, through which the approach of death might be foreseen. First in the Bishop's list stands Physics or Natural Science. The professors of Physics he likens to earth-born Giants storming the heavens, deserving, like the Titans, to be overwhelmed by divine decree.

'Borne along (he declares) by gigantic force, fortified by superhuman strength, they waxed bold and declared war against God Himself, until the Almighty scattered the tower of pride and engine of contradiction rising into heaven on the foundations of Babel, and sent division among their tongues. Since then they have been dispersed into various sects of error, contending about trifles and babbling paradoxes.'

Through these loquacious diatribes of John of Sarum the figure of Nembrotto, reputed founder of Babel, symbol of Physics, as Physics were known in the thirteenth century, slowly emerges. Beyond the triple measure of man's stature, even in that portion of his person not hidden from view, the science had attributes to inspire admiration even in the dark ages; yet the speech was confined to incomprehensible paradoxes; and the great arms, destined for great achievements in the ages to come, hung idle though unfettered. A warning note it could give in matters concerning life and death; and with that note, already heard far off, Reason bid Dante be content.

It is rather startling to find in 'Polycreticus' that the next earth-born Giant professing ability to forecast death is the science of Medicine. But a curious freak of philology gave unexpected support to Dante in this association of

the physicians among the Rephaim. The Hebrew word, which, as we have seen, lends itself to translation either as 'the Dead' or as 'the Giants,' appears in the Vulgate version of Psalm 87, 11 as 'medici.' 'Numquid mortuis facies mirabilia; aut *medici* suscitabunt, et confitebuntur tibi?' St Augustine has a sermon on this passage, in which he comments on the Hebrew word thus variously translated. He gets good morals out of either rendering, and thus lends Dante sound authority for including Medicine in this ill-omened company. Physicians were in that age notoriously more addicted to the practice of fantastic methods of forecasting death than to more useful business; and this uncomfortable art, combined with their ignorance and brutality, roused against them a mingled terror and indignation which finds continual though guarded utterance in medieval literature. Fialte, as a symbol of Medicine at that period, inspired Dante with a terror almost humorously exaggerated. He would have died at the mere sight of him, he says, had he not seen his 'ritorte.' Now one meaning of the word 'ritorte' is spiral vessels in which potions were chemically compounded—in fact, the modern 'retort.' Thus Dante gives a veiled allusion to his intimate knowledge of the physicians' secrets. He had seen too much of the way they conducted their researches to be quite frightened to death by their prognostications.

Fialte is painted as only less ferocious than Briareus; and, from the extraordinary emotion which the mere mention of Briareus rouses in his comrade, it may be safely conjectured that the rival and detested profession of Chirurgery was typified under the figure of this many-handed and 'ismisurato' Giant. Both these sciences are represented as holding their right arm, the legitimate and useful exercise of their profession, behind their backs, and the left arm, typifying 'sinister' doings, in front. The chain which five times encompasses them signifies that each of their senses is in bondage.

The final mode of forecasting death indicated by John of Sarum is vaguely defined as 'the Spirit of Prophecy.' Here it would seem that we find the figure of Antæus, standing for 'Presage of Death.' May it not have been a sudden perception of impaired health, of which his knowledge of physiology (then included in natural science) gave

him the first warning,* which rapt Dante into the contemplation of age and death? Of Antæus, Virgil notes, 'he speaks (intelligibly) and is free.' Such presages do indeed speak clear, nor can they be fettered. Had Antæus taken part in the great war, the sons of earth might after all have conquered, for was it not the absence of any 'presage of death' which brought the immortal ones victory in the end? Suddenly Antæus stretched out the arms which had wrestled with Christ in the garden and seized upon Virgil, who lifted Dante with him. The sensation was not agreeable; and Dante half wished he had chosen 'another way,' but, folded closely in the embrace of Reason, he descended undismayed to the contemplation of what the future might hold.

The story of Dante's life, told partly in retrospect, partly in anticipation, has thus gradually opened out before the reader. The purport of the elaborate references to passing time has been laid bare. The scanty facts of the poet's life which history has preserved have fallen one by one, with clear marks of identification, into their proper sequence in the course of the narrative. Symbols, described with a wealth of detail too often regarded as grotesque, have been traced to their true sources in the Bible and in classical and medieval writers, familiar to Dante and probably to his contemporary readers, and stand revealed as essential pillars of the great structure. The inner purpose of the poem shines out as the complement to the unfinished 'Convito,' wherein Dante declares himself urged by weighty causes to self-revelation.

'I am moved thereto by the dread of obloquy and by the desire to set forth doctrine which cannot faithfully be set forth in any other wise. . . . I mean also to declare the true purpose of these words of mine which may not be apprehended, unless I relate it, since it is hidden under the figure of an allegory. And this shall not only give good pleasure to such as hear, but also subtle instruction how to speak in

* Note the qualifying expression (xxxl, 128) here used about the journey for the first time:

'Ch' ei vive, a lunga vita ancor aspetta
Se innanzi tempo grazia a sè noi chiama,'

this fashion and how to understand other [allegorical] writings.*

Had Dante long survived the publication of the 'Commedia' he could not have failed to perceive that his allegory, even for that little company of 'intelletti sani' on whom he counted, had missed the mark. Some hint of a perception on his part that further light was required may be found at the end of the letter addressed to Can Grande, where Dante excuses himself from entering at the moment on any exposition of the 'special' meaning of the poem, trusting at some other time to have more leisure for the work. But that time was not to be granted; and the 'allegorical and true meaning' of the 'Inferno' as a revelation of Dante's inner history can never now be fully apprehended.

It remains to add that the real work of unveiling the existence of the allegory has been performed by the great army of Dante scholars who in recent years have restored the habit of medieval thought, buried within a century after Dante's death under the new aspirations of the Renaissance. Dante himself declared it 'impossible and irrational' to attempt to unfold the allegorical until the literal sense had been clearly grasped; and his mighty erudition has tasked the acutest intellects in grappling with the historical, philological, geographical, and astronomical problems presented in his poem. Not till the present day have the preliminary difficulties, due to ignorance of Dante's times, of his favourite authors, and of science, as science was known to him, been overcome. The mass of knowledge thus laboriously accumulated sheds at every turn fresh light on the purpose for which the complicated machinery of the poem was designed, and will, it may be anticipated, bring still further illumination to bear on its 'allegorical and true subject' in the future.

GERTRUDE LEIGH.

* The recent interpretation by Mr Wicksteed and Mr Gardner of Dante's eclogues affords additional proof of the extent to which Dante was accustomed to think in symbol.

Art. IV.—THE VARIETIES OF ENGLISH SPEECH.

The English Dialect Dictionary, Edited by Prof. Joseph Wright. Six vols. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1896-1905.

It is impossible to turn over even only a few pages of the English Dialect Dictionary without feeling that we have before us not the more or less dry work which fitly takes its place among the books of reference on our library shelves, but a book stored with things that come home to our business and our bosoms, instinct with wisdom, wit, and feeling. It is the object of this article to point out some at least of the ways in which the study of our English dialects contributes to the advancement of knowledge, and also brings us face to face with the life and character of the British peasant and artisan.

The Dictionary includes, as far as possible, the complete vocabulary of all dialect words which are still in use, or are known to have been in use at any time during the last 200 years, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. It further includes all words occurring both in the literary language and the dialects, but with some local peculiarity of meaning in the latter. Now it is generally supposed that the vocabulary of dialect-speaking people is very small; indeed, it has been stated as a scientific fact that the common rustic uses scarcely more than 300 words. But this is obviously an erroneous theory. The six volumes of the Dialect Dictionary contain in all over 5000 pages, and the number of simple and compound words in the first volume (A-C) is 17,519; and it may be safely inferred, from the careful statistics given of the contents of this volume, that the whole Dictionary contains over 100,000 words.

As may be expected, we find in this vocabulary an immense variety of terms or phrases for expressing one and the same idea. For instance, there are approximately 1350 words meaning 'to give a person a thrashing'; 1300 meaning 'a fool'; 1050 meaning 'a slattern'; and an almost innumerable quantity meaning 'to die,' and 'to get drunk.' Among the animals possessing a large variety of names, 'the smallest pig of a litter' holds a very prominent place with over 120 titles to distinction;

that handsome bird, the hickwall, or green woodpecker (*Gecinus viridis*), figures under almost every letter of the alphabet; while the sparrow and the stickleback also rank high on the list. Among flowers, the foxglove and the ox-eye daisy have the largest number of recorded names.

There are, of course, many words in the dialects which can only be regarded as corruptions of literary English words, as: obstropolous for obstreperous; smothercate, a confusion of smother and suffocate; dacious, 'impudent, rude,' an aphetic form of audacious, used thus—'of all the daacious lads I iver seed oor Sarah's Bill's the daaciousest'; demic, used for the potato disease, etc., with the participial adjective demicked, 'diseased,' an aphetic form of epidemic; brown-kitus, or brown-titus, 'bronchitis,' an attempt at popular etymology; battle-twig, 'an earwig,' a corruption of beetle and earwig; skelinton, 'skeleton,' with an intrusive n, which it has acquired in common with many words in the literary language. It would be easy to multiply these examples, e.g. abundance, affordance, blusteration, boldrumpitious, fancical, and so on; but, considered relatively to the whole vocabulary, the proportion of them is very small.

There can be no question that the belief once held by educated people, that dialect is a barbarous and haphazard mispronunciation of the standard language, due to more or less wilful ignorance, is now no longer tenable. In fact, rather 'the boot is on the other leg'; it is we who are more or less wilfully ignorant of the elaborate and systematic sound-laws and the exact grammatical rules which have been regularly developed and carried out in the dialects, unhampered by the arbitrary rules of fashion or the regulations of a stereotyped spelling 400 years behind the pronunciation. It is surprising to find in what a number of cases it is the standard English form which is the corrupt word, while the dialects preserve the correct pronunciation. To take only a few examples: lilac (*Syringa vulgaris*) in the dialects is called laylock, regularly corresponding to the old form lelacke found in Bacon's Essays. When we say lilac we are pronouncing a form borrowed from the cockney, who says 'the byby' instead of 'the baby.' So, again, apricot, dialect form apricock, cp. Shakespeare, 'Richard II' III, iv, 29, 'yond

dangling apricocks'; coroner, dialect form crowner, hence crowner's quest 'a coroner's inquest,' cp. Shakespeare, 'Hamlet' v, i, 4, 'The crowner hath sate on her, and finds it Christian burial. . . . But is this law? . . . Ay, marry, is't, crowner's quest law.' Periwinkle (the mollusc), dialect form pennywinkle, is correctly derived from O.E. pine-wincla. In cowslip, dialect form cowslop, the latter is not a corruption of the former, but comes from O.E. cū-sloppe, whereas cowslip goes back to O.E. cū-slyppe. Icicle has not been corrupted into ice-shockle, ice-shackle, but both are independent forms, the one derived from O.E. is-gicel, the other from O.N. jökull, 'an icicle.'

Beside the old historical forms we find still more interesting old meanings preserved in the dialects, e.g. bid, 'to invite, especially to a wedding or funeral,' hence bidden-wedding, 'one to which a large number of guests are invited, and, as at a penny-wedding or bride-wain, expected to contribute; bidding, 'an invitation'—'He's gone round with the biddins, there'll be a ruck o' folks'—cf. Tindale (1534), Matt. xxii, 9, 'As many as ye finde, byd them to the mariage'; bride-ale, 'a wedding feast,' O.E. brýd-ealo; gossip, 'a godparent, a sponsor at baptism,' O.E. godsibb; speed, 'success,' O.E. spēd, in the literary language in this sense only in the phrase 'God-speed' and the proverb 'More haste worse speed'; to admire, 'to wonder at, notice with astonishment'—'Yan wad admire how yau gits sec cauds' (colds)—cp. Shakespeare, 'Twelfth Night,' III, iv, 165, 'Wonder not, nor admire not in thy mind, why I do call thee so'; anatomy, 'a skeleton,' also 'a very thin, emaciated person or animal,' cp. Shakespeare, 'King John,' III, iv, 25, 40, 'Death . . . that fell anatomy'; mean, 'to utter a moaning sound, to wail, to complain,' O.E. mānan, 'to lament, mourn, complain'; niece 'a grand-daughter,' nephew 'a grandson,' both occurring in Shakespeare; child, 'a female child, a girl'—'Is it a lad or a child?'—cp. Shakespeare, 'Winter's Tale,' III, iii, 71, 'A boy or a child, I wonder?'

An interesting elucidation of the common proverb, 'Don't spoil your ship for a ha'porth of tar,' is given by comparison with the dialect version of it, which remains faithful to the original. The saying, 'Dunnot loaz t'yow (the ewe) for a hawporth o' tar,' i.e. 'Do not be niggardly or over-economical in farming,' is recorded as far back as

1636 in the form 'hee that will loose a sheepe (or a hogge) for a pennyworth of tarre cannot deserve the name of a good husband.' It thus becomes clear that our word 'ship' is here a dialect form of 'sheep,' and that the 'ha'porth of tar' does not signify the remedy for a leaking vessel, for which it would be wholly inadequate, but the means for marking the owner's initial on a sheep's back, to prevent its being unrecognised when found straying.

Passing on from old forms and meanings which still have their representatives in the standard language, we come to the wealth of historical words, familiar to us in our older literature, but lost to our current speech. Here, in the dialects, they still live and have their being. The following are a few of the obsolete Shakespearean words still used in the dialects: ballow, bawcock, bisson, buck-basket, cater-cousins, chare, cock-shut time, day-woman ('dairy woman'), fettle, flaw ('a gust or blast of wind'), gallow ('to scare'), gleek, grize, inkle, kam, loggats, malkin, mazzard, mumbudget, nine men's morris, nook-shotten, orts, peat ('a pet, darling'),plash ('a pool'), princox, rack ('a mass of clouds'), rother, shog, sneap, sowl ('to drag by the ears'), sprag, stover, tang, trash ('to lop'), urchin ('a hedgehog'), yare, york.

In some cases scholars have never been able to give the accurate meaning of a word occurring in O.E. or M.E. literature till it has been clearly shown by the light of modern dialects. For instance, crundel, used in Sussex and Hampshire for 'a ravine,' a strip of covert dividing open country, always in a dip, and usually with running water in the middle. In the 'Codex Diplomaticus,' edited by Kemble, over sixty 'crundels' are mentioned, but the meaning of the word has till now always remained a puzzle. Sweet ('Ags. Dict.') defines it as a cavity, a chalk-pit (?), a pond (?); Bosworth-Toller as a barrow, a mound over graves to protect them; Leo ('Angelsächsisches Glossar') as a spring or well; Kemble as a sort of water-course, a meadow through which a stream flows. It is the discovery of the existence of the word in the dialects which places the correct meaning beyond doubt. Again, in the O.E. epic poem 'Beowulf,' occurs the following passage: 'Ofer þēm hongiað hrinde bearwas,' 'Over which [lake] hang . . . woods.' The question as to the meaning of 'hrinde' has formed the subject of frequent

discussion; and various translations have been suggested, e.g. 'barky,' 'rustling,' 'placed in a ring or circle.' At last Dr Richard Morris proved fairly conclusively that the right meaning should be 'rimy, frosty,' the word 'hrinde' was taken to be a corrupt form of O.E. *hrimge*, 'rimy, covered with hoar-frost,' and this amended reading was adopted in subsequent editions of the text. Now the word for 'hoar-frost' in several northern dialects is rind; and, from a philological point of view, it is quite possible to connect the two words, and justify the retention of the MS. reading, whilst corroborating the accepted translation.

The M.E. poem, 'Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight,' contains a large number of words and phrases the meanings of which were only vaguely conjectured before, but which can now, by the aid of the Dialect Dictionary, be defined accurately, e.g. 'molaynes' (l. 169), formerly translated 'round embossed ornaments,' or 'some ornament on a shield.' The word is not recorded elsewhere in English literature, but remains in the midland and south-midland dialects of to-day as mullen, 'the head-gear of a horse, the bridle of a cart-horse,' a sense which exactly fits the M.E. passage in question. 'Muged' (l. 2080), given in the Glossary as meaning 'was cloudy,' is the same word as the modern dialect mug, 'a slight rain or drizzle.' If the native county of the author of 'Sir Gawayne' were in doubt, a comparison of his language with that of the modern dialects would point to Lancashire as his home. The 'Shakespeare-Bacon theory,' if still considered worthy of attention, might be overthrown by any one who chose to array against it the convincing mass of evidence which proves Shakespeare's intimate knowledge of the Warwickshire dialect.

The illustrations given of the dialect senses of literary English words provide useful and entertaining reading on almost every page of the Dictionary. To quote only a few specimens: dead, 'faint, unconscious,' 'I was took dead'; deaf (used of shell and kernelled fruit), 'empty, 'he does not look as if he had lived on deaf nuts,' said of a man who looks well-fed and prosperous; 't'beef's enough,' an elliptical expression meaning 'sufficiently cooked. 'Hot faggots to-night' is a not uncommon notice to be seen, for example, in the windows of small eating-

houses in Malvern or Cheltenham, where 'faggot' suggests to the rustic mind something savoury and inviting, wholly unconnected with 'a bundle of brushwood used for fuel'; 'fig,' in several dialects, means a raisin, hence figgy-pudding, 'plum-pudding.' We are told that a woman placed this notice in her shop-window: 'Figgy pudden wan appenny a slice; more figgier wan penny a slice.' 'As false as a Christian,' said of an animal, is a compliment to both the Christian and the animal, where 'false' is understood to mean 'sharp, clever.' 'For sale, 120 acres of fog'—so ran the wording of a printed notice conspicuous in the market-square of Settle, where 'fog' means 'the aftermath,' the long grass left standing in the fields during winter. In a M.E. poem, where the punishment of Nebuchadnezzar is narrated, we read: 'He fares forth on alle faure [fours], fogge watz his mete.' 'My good aunt' is my aunt 'by marriage.' Idle is 'mischievous, saucy, flippant.' It is said that half the choir in a Dorsetshire village resigned when a lady told them they were 'idle'; they believed she had accused them of leading a vicious life. 'Sad bread' is 'heavy, close, sodden' bread, but to say 'bread's settled' refers to a fall in price. 'Small,' used of people, means 'thin, slender'; 'aw knew a chap once 'at stood abaat seven feet, an' he wor soa small he luk'd like a walkin' clooas prop.' 'An old woman, seventy-six, but young still,' means that she is unmarried.

A noteworthy feature of the dialects as a whole is the prevalence of rhyming and alliterative compounds. They are frequently very expressive, and even the least dignified of them seldom descend to the level of the mere 'gee-gee' and 'bow-wow' of nursery language. It is difficult to make a choice amongst so many, but the following examples are fairly representative: argie-bargie, or argle-bargle, 'to argue, bandy words'; chim-cham, 'to talk in a long-winded style, to beat about the bush'; easy-osie, 'easy-going'; flim-flam, 'idle talk, nonsense'; giddle-gaddle, 'a contrivance used instead of a stile or gate,' an effective bar to cattle and a trial to 'stout persons'; giff-gaff, 'mutual obligation, reciprocity,' especially current in the proverb 'giff-gaff makes good friends'—this word is found as far back as the year 1549 in one of Latimer's sermons: 'Giffe gaffe was a good felow, this gyffe gaffe

led them elene from iustice'; ham-sam, 'irregularly, confusedly'; hanchum-scranshum, 'bewilderment, confusion'; havey-cavey, 'unsteady, trembling in the balance'; holus-bolus, 'completely, all at once'; kim-kam, 'awry'; miff-maff, 'nonsense'; ming-mang, 'confusion, disorder'; nibby-gibby, 'a narrow escape'; rory-tory, 'loud, noisy,' also 'gaudy'; tacky-lacky, 'a drudge, a person at every one's beck and call.'

When once we begin to search for typical expressive words we find ourselves confronted with them at every turn. Terse and strong, or elastic and many-sided, we instinctively feel their force and individuality, though we fail to convey it in the terms of a verbal definition. Not infrequently we must add phrase to phrase in our definition in order to express the meaning contained in one simple adjective, as, for instance, waughy, 'used in illness, nearly always during convalescence, expressing the feebleness, shakiness, and light-headedness after confinement to bed,' also, 'weak in body, especially when accompanied by a tendency to faint.' Characteristic dialect adjectives are: brabagious, easyful, feckless, gaumless, jannock, sackless, unkid, yonderly, cf. 'Then Nan lewkt at ma wi a lewk Soa yonderly an sad.' It would baffle most of us to give the exact reproduction in literary English of such a sentence as, 'Ae's pinikin, palchy, and totelin, ae's clicky and cloppy, an a kiddles and quaddles oal day.' But if we cannot find the equivalents of adjectives such as these, still less can we find parallels for the numerous figurative terms and phrases applied to people and things, for here we approach the unlimited humour displayed in the dialects. It is of all kinds—the ironical, the sage, the frankly jolly, the merely ridiculous. It takes every shape; we meet it in similes, metaphors, proverbs, and in various other forms which elude description. A book of jokes is dull reading beside the Dialect Dictionary, because the former bears generally the stamp of artificiality, whilst the latter breathes forth the breath of human nature. We are here in touch with the fresh vitality of minds uncramped by the book-learning which tends to stunt the development of natural genius and to run nature into a common mould.

Amongst the figurative names are: a backfriend, or, a stepmother's blessing, 'a loose piece of skin at the base

of the finger-nail'; a bread-and-cheese friend, 'a true friend, as distinguished from a cupboard lover'; the blacksmith's daughter, 'a padlock'; calf-lick, 'a tuft of hair growing on the human forehead which will not part or lie flat'; cat-lick, 'a hasty, indifferent washing,' cf. 'a lick and a promise'; calf's tongue, 'a person who is, according to occasion, mild-spoken or harsh-spoken, like the tongue of a calf, smooth on one side and rough on the other'; the one-arm'd landlord, 'a pump'; Methody cream, 'rum'; Street and Walker's place, 'out of work'; a thank-you-sir, 'a second-hand article of clothing.'

A characteristic form of humour, often combined with sarcasm, appears in those comparisons wherein the habits and actions of men are likened to those of birds, beasts, fishes, and even insects in real or imaginary situations, e.g. as busy as a cat in pattens, said when any one is needlessly busy about trifles; as deaf as a haddock; as fast as a midge in a treacle-pot; as happy as little pigs in new straw; as hungry as a June crow; as lonely as a steg (a gander) in sitting-time, said of a bachelor living by himself; lost like a lop (a flea) in a barn, said of a man who lives in a house too big for him; as slender in the middle as a cow in the waist, said of a very stout person; as slick as a oont, i.e. as smooth as a mole; as wakken as a witterick, i.e. as lively as a weasel; as wet as a drowned kitten. A person doing something in a clumsy manner is said to be 'like a cow handling a musket'; a humdrum preacher is said to 'go a-buz'n away like a dumbley-dory (a bumble bee) in a snoxun (a foxglove)', or 'like a dumble-dory in a warming-pan'; an old woman gaily dressed is said to be 'like an old ewe dressed up lamb-fashion'; a restless, impatient person is 'like a hen on a hot girdle'; a person who suffers from ill-treatment is said 'to lead a life like a toad under a harrow'; a person with a bad or no memory is said to have 'a memory like a frog-tail.'

Besides these similes there are a large number of longer ones, in the style of those conversational allusions which one had hitherto regarded as peculiar to Sam Weller, for example: 'as laazy as Ludlam's dog that leäned his sen ageän a door to bark'; 'as thrang (busy) as Throp's wife when she hanged hersel wi' the dishcloot'—this allusion is brought in when describing a

woman who is for ever busying herself about domestic affairs, but whose house is nevertheless always untidy ; 'as queer as Dick's hatband, that went nine times round an' would not tie at last'; 'y're late, as Paddy Loughran sayd t' the ghost'; 'to sit like Mumchancer, who was hanged for saying nothing'—this saying refers to an old game of chance played with cards or dice, at which silence was essential. To catch a person napping, 'as Moss caught his mare,' is a saying which occurs as far back as 1641, in Taylor's works. 'It's all along of Colly Weston,' used when anything goes wrong, bears reference to a very old phrase found as early as 1587.

The enormous variety of metaphorical expressions, of wise saws and modern instances, would furnish material for treatment as a special study in itself. It is impossible to do justice to them when dealing with them merely as one subject among many. We can only select a few at random, some of them old friends, time-honoured proverbs here met in unfamiliar guise, in certain cases perhaps the mark of a still more hoary antiquity : 'The black ox 'a trod on yer toes,' i.e. you have known misfortune or sorrow, is found as early as Lyly's works, 1584; 'he's getten Lawrence on his back,' i.e. he is lazy; 'he trails a light harrow, his hat covers his family'; 'to put in a stitch for a friend' is to sew hurriedly or badly; to attempt the impossible is 'to cut smoke with a leather hatchet,' 'to stop an oven with butter,' or 'to gape against a red-hot oven'; 'to eat bread dipped in fried water' is to live poorly; of scant fare received in another person's house it is said, 'the shelf was pretty high'; unprofitable employment is 'bare work an poor pay, like licking honey off a thorn'; a very cold wind is said 'to make thin linings,' i.e. to make one's clothes feel thin; of an avaricious person it is said that 'he would steal the cross off an ass,' i.e. the dark marks across its shoulders; of a niggardly person, that 'he would skin a toad for the hide and tallow.' To regain one's health after an illness is 'to gather strings'; to pay attention to one's own faults is 'to sweep up one's own doorstep'; not to be deterred from anything by blustering talk is 'to live too near the wood to be frightened by an owl.'

Proverbs and proverbial sayings which explain themselves are : 'What do you expect from a pig but a grunt';

'more poke than pudding'; 'it's easy holding down the latch when nobody pulls at the string'; 'don't stretch thi arms farther nor thi sleeves reyks (reach)'; 'never scaud your lips in ither folk's kail'; 'the mellerest apple hes a cawk (core) i'side'; 'money without love is like salt without pilchards'; 'better a wet mitten than a cold hand'; 'the well is not missed until it is dry.'

Interesting, too, are the various ways in which one simple idea may be expressed; for example, a moment of time, instantly, is in the snifter (sniff) of a rabbit, in the shaking of an ass's lug (ear), in a couple of cat-squints, in two claps of a lamb's tail, in half a dozen cracks of a cobbler's thumb; a long, indefinite period of time is 'years, long years, and donkey's ears'; never, is some Sunday in next week, midsummer-come-never, Never's tide, St Tibb's Eve, St Pawsle's E'en.

Corresponding to these figurative and proverbial sayings of a general nature are the more strictly local ones, e.g.: 'Always too late, like Mobberly clock'; 'like a Whillymer cheese, it wants an axe and a saw to cut it,' etc. Of these the most interesting are the phrases and sayings wherein some special characteristic of the inhabitants of a certain town or district is typified, or held up to ridicule, or where some allusion is made to a current tradition. For instance: to 'creg' means to be short-tempered or ill-natured, like the inhabitants of Cragg Hill, a geographical portion of Horsforth in West Yorkshire; 'ship-shape and Bristol fashion' signifies respectability, steadiness, stolidity; 'tha knaws ah'm Yorkshire tu' is equivalent to 'you cannot over-reach me.' 'Leeds loiners' and 'Morley gawbies' are nicknames for the inhabitants of these towns. 'Get to Melverly wi' thee,' or 'to Halifax,' are expletives based on local history. 'You could tell that up in Devonshire' is a Cornish expression equivalent to 'give a cat a canary.' 'A Coggeshall job' means in Essex 'a stupid piece of work.' Many stories are told in illustration of the stupidity of the people of Coggeshall. Proverbial, too, are the 'moon-rakers' of Wiltshire, who tried to rake the moon out of a pond; the men of Belton, 'at hing'd a sheäp for steälin' a man'; and the folks of Token, who ran after the coach in order to see the big wheel catch the little one.

These quotations, and many more like them, would

furnish local colouring for the county historian and the student of English character; but, in addition to this, the Dialect Dictionary is a rich treasure-house of interesting material for the lover of our national history. Here we find the memory of old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago, handed down from generation to generation, enshrined in some quaint word or phrase. Or perhaps it is the name of some great or notorious man that has now passed into a rustic proverb, some notable event in political or Church history which, long after it has ceased to live in men's minds, still lingers in their speech. 'Hock-Monday,' the second Monday after Easter, is in Sussex kept as a festival in remembrance of the defeat of the Danes in King Ethelred's time; 'Kissing-day,' the second Tuesday after Easter, commemorates the granting of a charter to the town of Hungerford in Berkshire by John of Gaunt for its services in some great battle; 'to run like a red-shank,' i.e. to run as fast as possible, is a Lancashire phrase dating back to the retreat of the bare-legged Scotch rebels in 1745; a 'Sherra-moor,' used to signify 'a row, tumult, a state of confusion,' etc., is originally a name given to the Rebellion of 1715. 'There's been worse stirs than that at Lathom,' is a Lancashire saying used when a flitting, a whitewashing, or any domestic 'stir' of an unpleasant nature makes an apology needful on the score of untidiness or confusion; it alludes to the havoc made when the Parliamentary forces took Lathom in 1645. 'It caps old Oliver, and he capped Long Crown' (i.e. the Cavaliers, so called from the shape of their hats), is a Lincolnshire saying equivalent to 'it beats everything.' A 'Scarborough warning' signifies no warning at all; the origin of the saying rests on the statement that in 1557 Thomas Stafford entered and took possession of Scarborough Castle before the townsmen were aware of his approach. 'To vanish in a bokanki' means to take precipitate flight after the manner of Dr Balcanqual, Dean of Durham, in the time of the Civil Wars, fleeing away from the city with extreme precipitation after the battle of Newburn, for fear of the Scots. 'Derwentwater Lights' is, in Northumberland and Cumberland, a name for the 'aurora borealis'; on the night of the execution of the Earl of Derwentwater the aurora borealis flashed with remark-

able brilliancy, and has since been so named in remembrance of him.

If the historian can find in the Dictionary a feast of good things, still more so will the philologist and grammarian. Regarded from a strictly scientific standpoint, herein lies the chief value of the Dictionary. By means of a phonetic alphabet it shows us the exact pronunciation of each word, with the geographical area over which it extends. For example, the word 'home' has 44 different pronunciations, 'house' 29, 'father' 33. Hence we are enabled to trace all the sound-developments and sound-changes which have taken place, and are still taking place, in the living speech; and the science of language is thus furthered in a way which is not possible when dealing only with dead languages trammelled by a traditional orthography. In the literary language many sounds have fallen together which have been kept apart in the dialects, as meal (O.E. meolu 'flour,' and mæl 'repast'—in the dialects meil and miel); meat (O.E. mete, dialect meit), meet (O.E. mētan, dialect mīt). O.E. wyrhta, reoht, wrītan have all become 'rait' in N.E. pronunciation, whereas in the dialects they are respectively 'rīt,' 'reit,' 'rait.' In most dialects O.E. medial intervocalic d followed by r in the next syllable has become th. This explains the reason of such forms in the literary language as father, mother, hither, weather, etc. (O.E. fæder, móðor, hider, weder, etc.), beside ladder, fodder, etc. (O.E. hlæder, fôdor, etc.). The law has been consistently carried out in the dialects, hence we find orther 'order,' consither 'consider,' powther 'powder,' murther 'murder.'

The dialects frequently keep up old distinctions in grammatical forms which have become obliterated in the literary language, e.g. to keel vb., beside cool adj. (O.E. cēlan, cōl); kemb vb., beside comb sb. (O.E. cemban, comb); snew vb., beside snow sb. (O.E. snīwan, snāw). In rim vb., 'to remove, make room for,' beside room sb. (O.E. rýman, rûm), we have one of the very many instances where a good useful verb has been lost in the standard language.

These are only a few of the most obvious ways in which a comparison of the dialects with literary English will furnish valuable material for the philologist. To go into the subject fully would be to quote too many

technical details, wearying to the general reader; but some idea of the mass of philologically useful information in the Dictionary may be gained from the statement that the forms and uses of the verb 'to be' occupy four and a half pages, and those of the verb 'to have' six and a half.

In acquiring a literary language we usually have one form of a pronoun to learn for each case, e.g. Lat. *ego*, German *ich*, English *I*; but in the dialects the pronouns are far more complicated. For example, in many northern dialects the pronoun for the first person is '*i*' (pronounced like the *i* in 'it'); in interrogative and subordinate sentences '*I*' is used to express special emphasis; and from it has been developed an unaccented form '*a*' (pronounced like the *a* in 'at'), which can only be used in making direct assertions. Thus in one and the same dialect we have three forms, '*ai*', '*a*', '*i*', which are never mixed up syntactically by genuine native dialect-speakers. Such a sentence as 'her saw she' sounds to educated ears like wilful perversion of grammar, but in reality it is nothing of the sort. The use of 'her' and 'she,' 'him' and 'he' is strictly regulated as follows. The objective forms are used for the nominative when the pronouns are unemphatic, especially in the south-midland, eastern, southern, and south-western counties. Conversely, in all these dialects the nominative of the personal pronoun is used as the emphatic form in the objective case. In the south-western dialects inanimate objects are divided into two classes. The first or personal class consists of formed, individual objects, as 'a tool,' 'a tree'; for these masculine or feminine pronouns are employed. The neuter pronoun is used when referring to nouns contained in the second or impersonal class of unformed objects as 'water,' 'dust.' In some of these dialects the demonstrative pronoun used for the first class is 'thick, thuck,' and for the second class 'this, that.'

Again, whereas in the literary language the verbal endings are the same whether the subject is a noun or a pronoun, in many of the dialects they vary according to the nature of the subject. Thus, in Shetland and Orkney Islands, Scotland, Ireland, north country, and most of the north-midland dialects, all persons, singular and plural, take 's' or 'es' when not immediately preceded or followed

by their proper pronoun; that is, when the subject is a noun or an interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause. When the verb is immediately preceded or followed by its proper pronoun, the first person singular and the whole of the plural have no special endings in the above dialects. This rule has its historical antecedents in the older periods of the English language, but is now preserved only in the dialects. A common dialect form of the present participle has the prefix 'a-', e.g. 'a-doing, a-going,' etc. This becomes a significant feature when we realise that it explains the origin of our present participle ending '-ing,' which cannot be developed from the O.E. -ende. The form with the prefix 'a-' represents the verbal noun (O.E. -ung, -ing) preceded by the preposition 'on.' The preposition dwindled through lack of stress into a mere prefix, and was ultimately lost in the standard language. The dialects thus preserve the intermediate stage.

The loan-words in the dialects would form a wide field for interesting study in various ways, for they lead us on from phonology and etymology to history and ethnology. For instance, history tells us that some time before the Norman Conquest some Flemish people settled in England. John of Trevisa writes: 'The Flemmynges, that woneth in the west syde of Wales, habbeth yleft here strange speche and speketh Saxonlych ynow.' But in learning English they carried over into the new language some of their own words; and these Flemish words brought in by these colonists are to be heard to-day in the dialects of those counties which lie on the west side of Wales, e.g. south Pembroke and Glamorganshire. The loan-words, further, bear corroborative testimony to historical facts in pointing back to the existence of Frisians in Kent, the Isle of Wight, and Hampshire; to an early settlement of people from the south-west of England in Wexford; to the influx of Scots into Ulster; and of Huguenots into Norfolk. They prove too that far more Normans settled in the south-midland and southern counties than in the rest of England; that the Scandinavian settlers in East Anglia were to a great extent Danes; and that the Scandinavians in Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire were chiefly Norwegians.

So far we have dealt principally with the linguistic side of the Dialect Dictionary, but it is as a storehouse of folklore that it appeals most strongly to the general reader. It brings before our eyes ancient sports and customs still practised in rural districts; the games of children, many of them echoing the traditions of a dim past undreamt of by those who sing of them now, old superstitions of mythical origin, popular beliefs, charms, and quaint medical lore. We see the strange mixture of Christianity and creeds of heathen times, of pious faith and child-like dread of the unknown and mysterious, common in the minds of our rural population a generation or two ago, even if less common to-day. Then, too, in the names of plants, seasons, and atmospheric conditions we find traces of old legends and curious explanations of natural phenomena. In the technical terms of various trades and industries, especially in those that belong to farming in all its many branches, we get glimpses into the daily toil of the artisan, the mill-hand, and the farm-labourer; so that it can be truly said of the Dictionary that it furnishes forth food for reflection on man, on nature, and on human life.

When we come to look through the dialect portrait gallery of imaginary beings we find they are chiefly monstrous animals, goblins, some harmless, some terrific and of evil omen; the ghost, as the spirit of the departed, belongs rather to superstition among educated people, and is here scarcely represented at all. A dead man may be said to be 'troublesome,' or to 'come again very bad,' but the general terms, 'fearing,' 'frightening,' 'summat,' 'things,' usually imply apparitions of any shape, not specially human. The following are a few of the names of apparitions. The barghest is 'a frightful goblin with eyes as big as saucers'; in some cases it is loaded with chains which rattle horribly, or it shrieks in the night, boding death to any one who happens to hear the sound. Church-grim is a fixed inhabitant of the church by day and by night, but it only 'marauds about' in dark, stormy weather, or at midnight it tolls the death-bell. Clap-cans is a hobgoblin which makes a clanking noise as of beating on empty cans. Guy-trash is a spectre generally in the form of an animal; it used to appear as a horrible cow, a sign of death to the beholder. Old Baker, Old Bendy,

and Old Lob are ordinary ‘boggarts.’ Pad-foot is a terrible ‘boggart’ with saucer-eyes and dragging clanking chains, or it takes the form of a large sheep or dog walking beside you, making a soft noise—pad, pad, pad—with its feet; it always portends disaster. The Gabriel-rachet is a yelping sound heard by night, probably caused by flocks of wild geese; it is an omen of approaching death to the hearer or some one connected with him. By some the ‘gabble-ratches’ are believed to be the restless souls of children who have died unbaptised; by others that Gabriel is condemned to follow his hounds in the upper air till doomsday, for having hunted on Sunday.

Then there are the names of the hideous crew of hypothetical personages invented to terrorise the young: black-boggle, bugaboo, pokey-hokey, Old Scratty, Tom Dockin, etc. Churn-milk Peg and Melsh Dick are wood-demons supposed to guard soft, unripe nuts, as Old Goggie in the orchards guards the unripe apples. Billy-blin, Grogan, Hob, Hob-thrush, the Leprechaun, and Robin-round-cap are benevolent and useful sprites, if properly treated. Gathorn, the knockers, nicker, nuggie, and the spriggans are gnomes who haunt Cornish mines. The fairies also are well represented. There are the gentle people, the pixies, and the derricks, or single individuals, such as Fenodyree, who was banished from fairyland for having paid his addresses to a Manx maiden, and Gancanagh, who in lonesome Irish valleys makes love to milkmaids. Though belief in these gentry is no doubt to a great extent dead, its existence is still traceable in numerous plant-names, etc., and in sayings such as, ‘to laugh like a pixy,’ i.e. to laugh heartily. When a child, usually good-tempered, becomes suddenly irritable without any obvious reason, it is remarked, ‘Bless th’ bairn, he must hev been chaanged.’ The same may be said of the belief in witches. There are forty-six compound words beginning with *witch*. ‘As fause as a Pendle *witch*,’ or ‘as cunning as a *witch*,’ are Lancashire sayings. The shoulder-bone of a sheep is called in Somersetshire the ‘hag-bone,’ because witches were believed to ride on these bones. Their evil influence is recorded in such words as ‘blinded’ (soured, spoiled, used of beer), ‘overlooked,’ ‘overseen,’ ‘overshadowed.’

To superstitious minds omens of death and ill-luck, or

prognostications of coming good fortune, are present in the commonest things. A large hole in the crumb of a loaf is called a 'coffin,' because it is supposed to portend death; the same name is given to a small oblong cinder which flies out of the fire; a ringing in the ears is a 'dead-bell'; a piece of charred wick at the top of a burning candle is a 'shroud'; if bees swarm on the ground it is a sure sign of a funeral. A flake or film of soot hanging on the bar of a grate foretells the advent of a stranger, and is therefore called a 'stranger'; a 'meddem,' or tickling in the nose, is a similar portent. It is 'unlucky' to make a bid for anything not for sale; to spend money on the first Monday of the New Year; to kill 'God Almighty's colly-cow,' i.e. a lady-bird; for a woman to cross the highroad, or to pay a visit before she has been to church to return thanks after child-birth. To kill a pig when the moon is waning brings ill-luck to the bacon; it is sure to shrink in the pot. It is a sign of good luck if a wren builds in the hayrick, if you see a grey horse, or if you find nine peas in a pod. Good luck may be ensured by putting on your 'smock' or 'shift' inside out; by blowing through a hole bored in a wayside stone or pillar, called a 'lucky-hole'; or, before occupying a fresh house, by carrying a loaf and a plate of salt through every room. Many of the common plants are regarded with superstition, for example, to bring hawthorn into the house or to transplant parsley means death to one of the family; the spindle tree is called the 'Death alder,' and herb robert 'Death-come-quickly.' It is unlucky to pick up the catkins of the black poplar, they are 'Devil's fingers'; to use elder for kindling or lighting a fire; to pick 'cuckoo-spit' (*Cardamine pratensis*).

Perhaps one of the most ancient superstitions is that connected with bees, which is found in very many parts of England. 'To tell the bees' is to inform them of the occurrence of the death of the head of the house, or of some member of the family. If the bees are not told they will leave their hives and never return, or they will die. Some people give them a piece of funeral cake. They must be told in a whisper; and the communication must be made either just before the funeral leaves the house or else at the moment when it is starting. On the Welsh border people say it must be done in the middle

of the night. One version of the words said is, 'The poor maister's dead, but yo mun work for me.'

Naturally, besides the superstitious fear of coming disaster, is the belief in means for averting it; hence we find in the dialects numbers of charms both for warding off unseen harm and danger and for curing bodily ills. Among the charms against witchcraft are: to crook the thumb; to say 'it's Wednesday all the world over'; on the surface of the mash in brewing, or the sponge in baking, to make a cross with the finger. The perforated fragments of grey alum shale, called 'adder-stones,' from a belief that the holes are caused by the sting of an adder, 'holey-stones,' or 'hag-stones,' if suspended in the stable over the heads of the horses, or if attached to the key of the stable-door, protect the horses from being ridden by witches. Flint arrow-heads are a sovereign guard against the power of fairies. A bunch of birch-twigs or a piece of mountain-ash tree nailed over the door of the house keeps out witches; mountain-ash is also useful in protecting horses and cows from being bewitched. The 'sen-green' or 'fullen' (the house-leek), if planted on the thatched roof of a cottage, preserves it from the dangers of thunder and lightning; and a tuft of dried seaweed kept on the chimney-piece can ward off fire. An 'adder-stone' suspended round the neck will cure whooping-cough, ague, and adder-bites; mountain-ash is also an effective charm for the cure of whooping-cough. Another remedy for this disease is as follows. Take a certain number of hodmidods (small snails) and pass them through the hand of the sufferer, then suspend them in the chimney on a string; as the snails die the whooping-cough will leave the child. 'If yo' light on a briar-boss (the gall of the wild rose) accidental w'en yo' 'an the tuthache, an' wear it in yore boasom, it'll cure it'; a stolen potato carried in the pocket is a cure for rheumatism; the patella of a sheep or the top vertebra of a goose worn about the person is a cure for cramp. Then there are various old charms by incantation, as, for instance, the charm to cure the ague: 'I tie my hair to the aspen tree, Dither and shake instead of me'; others to cure whooping-cough, 'boneshave' (sciatica), warts, and 'kibes'; to 'stent' (stanch) blood, etc.

Should the external charms fail to cure bodily ills,

there are plenty of home-made medicines to be taken internally. Some of the recipes for these partake of the nature of the charm; e.g. for the 'reumatis,' take a 'dunderbolt' (a celt or fossil belemnite), boil for some hours, and then dispense the water to the diseased. Some are strange and nasty concoctions; some are simple remedies distilled from plants. Specimens of these rustic medicaments are: 'cinder-tea,' or 'water-cowk,' made by dropping a live cinder into a small quantity of water, given to infants as a cure for colic; 'crooke,' a mixture of porter, sulphur, and sheep's dung, used as a remedy for measles. The cures for whooping-cough are of various sorts: roast hedgehog, fried mice, wood-lice taken as pills, the hair of a donkey's cross (i.e. the dark line upon its shoulders, supposed to be made by the legs of Christ as he rode into Jerusalem) eaten with bread and butter, 'golden-locks,' the common polypody. Another cure is holding a live toad in the mouth, which is supposed to extract the cough from the patient. Cures for consumption are: 'adder-broth,' made of the flesh of an adder boiled with chicken; 'lungs of oak,' hazel-crottles; 'muggons,' mugwort; 'lung-wort,' the Jerusalem cowslip. An infusion of the leaves of broom is held to be a great specific in dropsical cases; a cupful of tea made from nine leaves of 'adder's tongue' (*Sagittaria sagittifolia*), taken daily, is a good strengthening medicine; house-leek, well pounded, and mixed with a little cream and lard, forms a cooling application; the silver weed (*Potentilla anserina*) is also used to allay inflammation; puff-balls and crystallised gypsum are supposed to stop the bleeding of wounds.

It is interesting to note, besides the plants associated with superstitious belief and rustic medical lore, those which are associated with some Bible story or religious legend, e.g.: 'Aunt Mary's tree,' a name for the common holly, connected in folklore with the Virgin Mary; 'Christ's thorn' (*Crataegus pyracantha*), the tradition being that the Saviour's crown was made from this plant; 'drops of Abel's blood,' buds of the red fuchsia; 'the eye of Christ,' the germander speedwell; 'Gethsemane,' the early purple orchis, said to have been growing at the foot of the cross, and to have received some drops of blood on its leaves, whence the dark

stains; 'Good Friday flower' (*Adoxa moschatellina*), from the cruciform four-cleft corolla of its topmost flower; 'Lady's milk sile' (*Pulmonaria officinalis*). According to the old legend, during the flight into Egypt, some of the Virgin Mary's milk fell on the leaves of this plant and caused the white spots with which they are still stained; another name for this plant is 'Mary's tears,' a similar legend tracing the spots to the tears shed by her at the Crucifixion; 'Lazarus flower,' the fritillary; 'St Peter's herb,' the cowslip, which suggests the bunch of keys; 'Satan's cherries,' the deadly nightshade; 'Satan's snuff-box,' the puff-ball.

Other curious and amusing plant-names are: 'Jump up and kiss me'; 'Kiss me, John, at the garden gate'; 'Meet her in the entry, kiss her in the buttery,' names for the common pansy; 'Pretty maids' (*Saxifraga granulata*); 'Two faces under a hat,' the common columbine; 'Welcome home, husband, though never so drunk,' the yellow stonecrop; 'New Year's gift,' the winter aconite. Very many more such as these might be quoted, for indeed the dialect plant-names would form in themselves a goodly dictionary; but we will now turn to another page in the book of nature, closely read by the dwellers in the country.

To the rustic who lives by tilling the soil, or by tending sheep and cattle, the prospect of fair days or foul is all-important; we therefore find in the dialects a mass of weather-lore, in part based on old superstition, in part on trustworthy observation. Sun, moon, and stars, clouds and wind, the habits of animals, and the various signs of the approach of winter, or the advent of spring, are all observed and studied. We find, on the one hand, old poetic tradition, such as the 'sun-dance,' long ago commemorated in Suckling's lines:

'But oh! she dances such a way!
No sun upon an Easter-day
Is half so fine a sight' —

and poetical names like 'the shepherd's lamp,' the evening star, and, on the other hand, prosaic comparison which likens clouds to 'wool-packs' or 'filly-tails,' and terms the moon 'the parish lantern.' Very expressive are the phrases describing cold wind and rough weather;

e.g.: 'a cold snarzling wind'; 't' weather wor seea pelsy, followed wi' sitch a snithe, hask wind'; 'a tell you that's a day wud blaw the horns aff the kye.' It is a sign of bad weather when the evening star 'leads the moon,' i.e. when it is in front or on the right-hand side of the moon; when the new moon occurs on a Sunday, for that foretells a flood before it is out; 'when th' crows plaays football,' i.e. when the rooks are restless, and gather together in large bodies, circling round each other; when the cat 'makes bread,' i.e. claws at the ground. Or again, there are proverbial sayings in homely rhyme, such as:

'Maayres taails an' mackerel sky,
Not long wet nor long dry.'

Any one specially interested in this branch of folklore would find an abundant store of material scattered up and down the Dictionary, or gathered together under the name of one of the months, as, for instance, February and May. But it can only be accurately appreciated by those who study it in connexion with the industry to which it belongs, namely, farming. The Dialect Dictionary furnishes us with information concerning many widely differing trades and industries, e.g. weaving, cotton-spinning, hat-making, salt-making, pottery, coal and tin-mining, all of which have their special vocabulary and technical terms. The weights and measures also, varying as they do in different localities, and according to the nature of the article weighed, are well worth notice. A 'gill' is not a measure of standard value, nor is an 'acre' the same size all the country over. Further, the unit of measure for well-known articles is often peculiar; e.g. flower-pots may be sold by the 'piece,' butter by the 'pint,' fruit by the 'pot,' hops by the 'pocket,' yarn by the 'lea,' wood by the 'cord.'

Of all the industries represented in the Dialect Dictionary farming is naturally the chief, because it does not belong to limited districts like coal-mining or salt-making, but covers the land; hence we may find several different series of dialect terms relating to land-tenure, to hay-making, reaping, or ploughing, or denoting the slight repasts taken by the labourer in the field. We may also here include all the lore relating to animals; the technical names for sheep, such as 'dinmont,' 'shear-

hog,' 'theave,' 'twinter,' 'cull'; the exact commands conveyed to farm-horses in mysterious interjections, such as 'har,' 'mock-mether-hauve,' 'hap,' 'cubba-hoult,' 'cup-bear,' 'chee-eggin,' 'ware-whoop'; the enticing cries summoning turkeys to the pen or pigs to the sty, such as 'dack,' 'chat,' 'giss,' 'lix,' 'ric-sic,' addressed to pigs, 'ob-ee' to geese, 'pod' to pigeons, 'wid' to ducks. But most interesting of all are the harvest words, for they picture to us so many rural scenes which can never cease to be dear to our hearts and memories. We are glad that they should once for all time be recorded thus accurately and in detail, for, since reaping-machines became popular, the sound of the mower whetting his scythe is seldom heard in the land; we no longer see Phillis and Thestylis together binding the sheaves; and all the time-honoured country customs of the 'harvest-home' festival are rapidly decaying, if not obsolete.

The last handful of corn to be reaped was always the trophy of the harvest-home feast. The stalks were roughly plaited together, and then the whole was placed above the door in the kitchen or over the chimney-piece, there to remain throughout the winter for good-luck and as a charm against witchcraft. Frequently this last sheaf was dressed up to appear like a rude human figure, gaily decorated, and carried home in triumph. Names for this 'last cut' are: cailleach, churn or kirn, corny-doll, kern-doll, mell-doll, cripple-goat, gilach, granny, hare, maiden, harvest-maiden, harvest-queen, the mare, the neck. The ceremonies of 'crying the mare' and 'crying the neck' (cf. Norw. dial. *nek*, a sheaf) are each minutely described, with the variations belonging to different districts. Some writers have confounded the two customs, but they are originally distinct. When a farmer has ended his reaping and the wooden bottle is passing merrily round, the reapers form themselves into two bands and commence the following dialogue in loud shouts, or rather in a kind of chant. First band: 'I have her, I have her, I have her.' Second band: 'What hast thee?' (Every sentence is repeated three times.) 'A mare.' 'Whose is her?' 'H. B.'s' (naming their master, whose corn is all cut). 'Where shall we send her?' 'To C. D.' (naming some neighbour whose corn is still standing, and who therefore may be supposed to

need the loan of a mare). The triumphant shouting over, 'the neck' is performed in a similar manner, but the neck itself is preserved by the owner and not sent to a neighbour. The 'harvest-cart' which carries home the last load was sometimes decorated with ash-boughs, and on it rode boys singing traditional songs, such as :

'Mester . . . es got 'is corn,
Well shorn, well mawn,
Never hulled ower, yet never stuck fast,
And 'is 'arvest cart's comin home at last.'

Then followed the feast called the churn-supper, mell-supper, or hockey ; and the evening concluded with music, dancing, and general jollity. The day when the labourers resumed the usual order of work, after the harvest weeks were over, was known as 'Sorrowful Monday.'

To illustrate at all adequately the popular customs current, obsolescent, and obsolete recorded in the Dictionary would require a book of no mean size. All that space permits of here is to indicate a few of the different heads under which they might be classified. There are the customs belonging to birth ; for example : the 'bed-ale,' 'blithe-meat,' 'merry-meat,' 'cummer-skolls,' the 'head-washing' or 'wetting of the baby's head,' names for the feast given to visitors on the occasion of the birth of a child ; the ceremony of presenting the new-born infant with a piece of bread, a pinch of salt, and an egg ; the offering of 'run-butter,' i.e. fresh butter melted with brown sugar and rum, served with 'haver bread' to subsequent callers ; the presenting of the 'christening bit' to any one met in the road as the christening party goes to church. Wedding customs, such as the distribution of 'ball-money' by the bridegroom at the church gate ; the serving of the 'bride-ale' to the wedding party on its return from church ; the collection of 'hen-brass,' or money given by the bride or bridegroom the evening after their marriage to enable their friends to drink their health ; the lifting of the bride over the 'petting-stone' at the church gates after the ceremony ; the jumping of the bride over the threshold of her new home for luck ; the throwing of the bride-cake. Further, all the ancient wedding sports are chronicled : the 'creeling,' the 'running for the bride-door,' 'the riding for the kail,'

etc. Funeral customs, such as the 'laithing,' or ceremonial inviting of relations and friends to the burial; the spreading of the funeral repast; the distribution of the 'burying-biscuits' among the mourners by the 'servers'; the 'ringing the dead home' while the funeral is on its way to church; the attendance of the mourners at church at the 'month's end' after a death.

Then there are an almost unlimited number of customs belonging to saints' days and other seasons of the ecclesiastical year, such as 'Catterning,' going round begging for apples and beer on St Catherine's Day, November 25; similarly, 'Clemancing' on St Clement's Day, November 23—blacksmiths hold a feast on this day, for St Clement is their patron saint; 'gooding,' collecting alms or gifts on St Thomas' Day; 'Psalm-caking' or 'soul-caking,' collecting cakes on All Saints' Day while singing special 'souling-songs'; 'holling,' a ceremonial procession on the eve of the Feast of the Epiphany, in commemoration of the star of the Wise Men; and all the manifold Lent customs, many of them connected with the eating of special kinds of food, such as 'carlings' or grey peas on Passion Sunday, figs on Palm Sunday, 'frutters' on Ash Wednesday, 'collops' on the day before Shrove Tuesday. Shrovetide is a time of festivity, and many sports, such as the 'drowing o' cloam' (throwing of crockery), belong to this season. Among Easter customs the 'Pace-egging' is perhaps one of the most interesting, with its songs and egg-rolling. There are, besides, the New Year ceremonies and Christmas mumming plays; the 'howling' or wassailing of orchards; customs connected with wells; doings at feasts, wakes, and hiring-fairs. All and more than these are to be found described in the Dialect Dictionary, and thus we have in its pages a gathered hoard of treasures new and old, not only for the philologist, the historian, and the folklorist, but also for every one who cares for the national history of the English, Scottish, and Irish people.

Art. V.—THE CASE FOR THE GOAT.

1. *The Book of the Goat.* By H. S. Holmes Pegler. Third edition. London: Upcott Gill, 1886.
2. *Milch-goats and their Management.* By Bryan Hook. London: Vinton, 1896.
3. *La Chèvre.* By Joseph Crepin. Paris: Hachette, 1906.
4. *Types and Breeds of Farm Animals.* By C. I. Plumb. Boston, U.S.: Ginn, 1907.
5. *Herd-book, 1906; List of Members and Annual Report of the British Goat Society.* Kingston-on-Thames: H. S. Holmes Pegler, Allerton House.
6. *Journal of the British Dairy-farmers' Association.* London: Vinton, 1905, 1906.
7. *Reports of Commission for the Investigation of Malta Fever under the supervision of a Committee of the Royal Society.* London: Harrison, 1905.
8. *Second Interim Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the relations of Human and Animal Tuberculosis.* (Cd. 2322.) London: Wyman, 1907.

'There is no house possessing a goat but a blessing abideth therein ; and there is no house containing three goats but the angels pass the night praying there.'—*Mahomet.*

IT is fabled that a little excursionist of the Country Holiday Fund once tearfully refused a foaming mug of warm milk because it had been 'squeezed out of a muddy cow, and mother always gets her milk from a nice, clean shop.' Grown-up people may be interested in another source of milk-supply than the cow when they learn that a goat has given half a ton of milk in a year, that goat's milk is often as rich again as cow's milk, and that in this country it may practically be guaranteed to be free from the bacillus of tuberculosis.*

Since the rediscovery of the valuable animal which has been dubbed the 'poor man's cow,' and the formation of the British Goat Society, a little more than a quarter of a century ago, a great deal has been done to spread a

* 'The British public is phlegmatic, but about the milk question it shows a callousness which can only come from wilful ignorance. The attitude amounts to fatalism or trusting to luck.'—*British Medical Journal,* March 9, 1907.

knowledge of the useful qualities of what Mr Hook has called 'the most intelligent, most engaging, and most picturesque of domestic cattle.' Several dozen nannies are now exhibited for prizes at the Dairy Show; these animals have also a section to themselves at many of the county agricultural shows; and, as a result of careful breeding, good milking strains have been evolved and a pail record has been made which Mr Holmes Pegler, writing in 1885, seemed to find it difficult to believe possible.

But ignorance as to the economic value, the habits, and the improved breeds of the goat is still prevalent. A wider acquaintance with the truth about *vacca pauperis* might lead to such an improvement of the stamina of country and town children that we have sometimes been inclined to think that, now that the Utility Poultry Club, the National Poultry Organisation Society, and other active agencies are at work in the interests of poultry, a little of the attention which is devoted by public men to the extension of poultry-keeping might be directed to helping forward the cause of the humble milk-giver from which it seems possible to derive a more substantial return for a smaller expenditure of cash and labour than from any other domesticated creature. It is not only that the goat produces a relatively large quantity of milk, and exceptionally rich milk, but that, as we have said, this milk may be drunk practically without any risk of tubercular infection. How much this means in the case of milk-supplies for infants is obvious. Adults may be able to resist the onslaught of the tubercular bacilli with which so large a proportion of cow's milk is unfortunately charged. Infants, into whose diet larger quantities of milk enter, can hardly hope to come off so well in the struggle.

Let us briefly establish the facts as to the quantity, quality, and healthy character of goat's milk. The secretary of the Goat Society has himself supervised the weighing and measuring of the yield of a goat at Great Waltham. He found the daily average to be 10 lbs 5 ozs., or more than a gallon a day. This animal had been in milk for more than five months. Its yield is, of course, more than is customary; but there are plenty of goats in the country which give five gallons a week, and thou-

sands which yield a somewhat smaller quantity. The American Milch Goat Association will not admit to its register a goat giving less than a quart a day. The author of 'La Chèvre' says he knows of an Alpine goat which, 'when newly kidded, and as a result of a remarkable appetite and of special feeding, gave eight litres (say seven quarts) daily for three weeks'!

As to the quality of goat's milk, it is little wonder that the public should be under a misapprehension, for even Dr Freyberger, pathologist to the London County Council, is reported to have said at an inquest* that 'goat's milk is worse than skimmed milk, and does not contain sufficient fat and sugar.' He was at once answered in the medical and lay press; for the data regarding the respective qualities of goat's and cow's milk are unassailable. So long ago as 1879, Dr Voelcker, F.R.S., reported on samples of goat's and cow's milk that they contained respectively 7·02 and 3·43 of pure butter and 5·28 and 5·12 of sugar. A later comparative analysis, the cow's milk in this case being from the winner of the champion milking prize at the Dairy Show, resulted as follows:—

		Goat's Milk.	Cow's Milk.	
Water		83·21	87·56	
Butter fat		7·30	3·63	
Casein		4·18	—	
Milk sugar		4·10	8·81	
Ash		1·21	—	

Stevenson and Murphy's 'Treatise on Hygiene and Public Health' states the percentage constituents of human, cow's, and goat's milk as follows:—

Milk.	Total Solids.	Proteids.	Fats.	Lactose or Milk Sugar.	Salts.	Water.
Human	12·59	2·29	3·78	6·21	0·31	87·41
Cow's	12·83	3·55	3·69	4·88	0·71	87·17
Goat's	14·20	4·20	4·78	4·46	0·76	85·71

As Dr Freyberger spoke of skimmed milk, its composition

* 'Daily Telegraph,' August 15, 1906.

may be added. It is—proteids 4·03, sugar 4·04, fat 1·0, and water 90·12. The London County Council pathologist might also be referred to Dr Eustace Smith's well-known work on 'The Wasting Diseases of Infants and Children,' in which we read:

'With some children, in spite of all possible precautions, cow's milk, however carefully it may be prepared and administered, cannot be digested. . . . In such cases, if there are objections to a wet nurse, recourse must be had to the milk of some other animal, and preference should be given to a milk which contains a smaller proportion of casein than is found in the milk of the cow, such as goats' or asses' milk.'

In the 'British Medical Journal' of June 23, 1906, Dr J. L. Stretton writes that at a *crèche* in Alexandria the matron told him that the babies were fed direct from goats—that is, by having their mouths applied to the washed teats, as is done in Cuba, in some parts of France, and by goat-owners in England known to the present writer in the case of their own infants—and, as she said, 'the babies are plump and rosy, need no medicine, rarely cry, just drink and sleep.' This report on the condition of these particular children was confirmed by Major W. D. Erskine, R.A.M.C., in a later issue of the 'Journal.' The same publication, on May 12, 1906, quotes with approval the following extract from a paper read by Mr Finley Bell before the New York Academy of Medicine, in which he gave reasons for recommending the more extensive use of goat's milk in the feeding of infants.

'Dr Bell reports two cases of wasting infants in whom improvement began as soon as they were put upon a mixture of goat's milk and water in place of cow's milk modified in various ways, and suggests that the fat of goat's milk being fluid at a point below the normal temperature of the body may interfere less with gastric secretion, while it is not less digestible by the pancreatic juice. Other advantages which he claims for the goat are: "She is more docile, less excitable, not subject to tuberculosis or other disease in this climate. Being browsers rather than grazers, they will thrive when cows would not; and, above all, she is cleanly. Her excrement is solid and her tail short, consequently she is not

covered with manure as is the cow.* It is safe to assert that the production of cow's milk free from manure bacteria is commercially impossible. Not so with the goat; she can be easily washed (tubbed if necessary) and aproned for milking."

We have also before us the enthusiastic testimony of ten other medical men writing from personal experience in favour of goat's milk for children.

In saying that the goat is not subject to tuberculosis, Dr Bell is in agreement with Sir William Broadbent, who, speaking at Huddersfield in October 1898 on the prevention of tuberculosis, asked his audience to note that 'goats do not suffer from tuberculosis.' He is also supported by the testimony of leading English goat-keepers, of every publication concerning goats, and of Prof. Nocard, who, some seventeen years since, stated that in the 130,000 goats and kids brought to Paris for slaughter at the shambles of La Villette every spring, the meat inspectors had failed to find a single case of tuberculosis. The data of the Commission for the Investigation of Mediterranean Fever leave no doubt, however, that the goats of Malta are liable to tuberculosis. No one is particularly desirous, however, of importing Maltese goats. An authority writes: 'They have never proved to be milkers in this country. In fact I do not know of a single specimen.' It is probable that, as the Board of Agriculture is advised, 'goats are susceptible to tuberculosis though rarely affected with it.' The fact nevertheless remains that, regarded from a sanitary point of view, there is no comparison between the usual standards of goat's milk and cow's milk.

No one knows how many goats there are in England, Wales, and Scotland, because the Board of Agriculture does not see its way to include the goat in its agricultural census. It is difficult to see any reason why the required information could not be obtained from the district enumerators annually employed to calculate crop-yields.

* Dr Benham, at Brighton, on February 27, read a description of the usual conditions which prevailed in farms; and horrible in its own way was the callous exclamation of the youth who milked the cows when manure which had fallen into the pail was pointed out to him: 'That ain't nothing; that's only off the cow.'—'British Medical Journal,' March 9, 1907.—'The milk from one dirty farm can contaminate a whole supply, inasmuch as the milk is mixed at factories.'—*Ibid.*

The Dublin Board numbers Irish goats, and returns the goat population of Ireland at 299,000. In 1881 the number of goats in seventeen European countries was stated to be over 17,000,000, the percentage to population being fourteen and sixteen in Switzerland and Norway and a great deal higher in the Peninsula and Greece.

The great opening for goats in this country is, of course, in the rural districts. The dearth of milk in many agricultural labourers' cottages passes belief. The following extracts from letters addressed to us from three different counties during the past year speak for themselves :—

From Yorkshire.—‘To my own knowledge it is the rarest thing in villages about where I live for the village children ever to get any milk at all. Cows are kept in abundance, but butter-making and selling is of more importance than the health and lives of the little children, and so it is impossible to obtain any. Cream is for the butter, and the old milk for the pigs, so the children must go without. I feel convinced that an adequate milk-supply for the poor in country places could be obtained by the general use of the goat.’

From Kent.—‘Labourers about here have, notwithstanding its being an entirely rural district, the greatest difficulty possible in getting any milk, and the children suffer, I fear, more seriously than the parents appreciate.’

From Surrey.—‘Both in town and country one of our national needs is more milk for the children of all except the wealthier classes. In the country the need results, not chiefly from actual deficiency of milk, nor even from its cost, but from difficulties in the supply of small quantities continually, and often at considerable distances. How can a farmer possibly supply half a pint of milk daily to a house half a mile away and by itself, without loss? He gets 1d., say, for the milk, and sending it by messenger, who travels a mile, costs him perhaps 1½d. or 2d. It pays far better to send it all in a churn to a distant town and sell it at ½d. or even a ¼d. net. The goat offers a solution; and the goat is ignored. Seventy-five per cent. of the cottage families in the country could keep a goat or two if they would; and, besides nourishing the children better, could find both income and interest in so doing; but they will not.’

The reason is that in so many districts no intelligent

person has come forward to demonstrate by personal experiment the value of the 'poor man's cow.' In parts of the country-side where the goat has found a practical advocate, the most encouraging results have followed. This is the work which not only public-spirited land-owners, but rural residents, with little more than a garden behind their houses, might undertake.

The goat is an accommodating creature. Of course, if it is to be pastured, it needs a large extent of field, for it does not graze soberly, like the cow, but restlessly browses, and needs, therefore, in order to maintain it in perfect health, a variety of herbage. But some of the finest goats in the kingdom live in the suburbs. The goat, if it be hand-fed, does not actually require any more space than a St Bernard dog. As an experienced goat-keeper once said to the writer, 'Any house that is weather-proof and light and sufficiently ventilated will do for successful goat-keeping, if the selection and treatment of the animal are satisfactory.' A little yard in front, which may be littered or not, as is preferred, is easily contrived. Goats seem ordinarily to prefer a bench to a soft bed for sleeping on.

What passes for the English goat (pl. 4)—often a mongrel with 'Welsh,' that is Irish, blood in it—is being superseded by animals largely or wholly of foreign ancestry. The favourite breeds have hitherto been Anglo-Nubian (pl. 3) and Toggenburg (pl. 1, 2); but much is now heard of the white Saanen. The heaviest weights of goats hitherto published have been the 170 lbs of a six-year-old Anglo-Nubian nanny, and 195 lbs of a billy of the same breed. We have measured animals which were 37 inches from the ground to the shoulder. Not a few of the best goats are hornless, and have close soft hair and drooping ears, and might well be kept for their good looks and affectionate disposition alone. The superiority of the foreign goat over the home variety lies in its greater size, its willingness to breed at more than one period of the year, and its greater and more prolonged milk yield. The increased milk yield in foreign goats has been obtained by the persistent breeding from heavy milkers which has been so long encouraged by the State in Switzerland and elsewhere.

The peculiarly extensive range of the dietary of the

goat makes it a convenient animal to feed, for very little comes amiss to it, from roots, green-stuff, hay, corn, and mashes, to horse-chestnuts, acorns, potatoes, leaves, and fruit-tree prunings. Garden waste may furnish the bulk of the food of the suburban goat, and wayside browsing is the best method of feeding the cottager's. This mixed feeding by the roadside is indeed ideal. Nothing hinders a goat from thriving more than sameness in its diet. Next to the roadside mixture, the picking here and there while roaming about a field has most to recommend it; but sooner or later the hedges will be seriously damaged. The third way of feeding is to tether, by means of a strong dog-collar and a chain containing two or three spring hooks, the chain to be fixed to a ring which works round an iron peg. But many goats never see a field. Their whole lives are passed healthily enough in their stable and little exercise yard.

Even when horned, the nanny is a gentle, tractable creature; but there are obvious advantages in the animal being hornless. The popular impression that the nanny has an offensive smell is wrong; but, as Horace's phrase, 'the ladies of the unfragrant lord,' reminds us, as much cannot be said on behalf of the he-goat. He is an obnoxious animal. The reference in the same Ode to the poet's 'goats in bliss, Apart from wind and rain and heat,' is still a useful hint as to the management of the 'poor man's cow.' It equally dislikes a hot sun, wet, and a high wind.

The one objection to goats is the damage they do in nibbling twigs and barking trees when they happen to get loose. The offensiveness of the billy is not an objection to goat-keeping, for his attentions are required by the females once a year only; and no one but the owner of a considerable herd need have a he-goat of his own. Nor is the milking of the nanny a difficulty. The action is quickly learned. The alleged unpleasant taste of goat's milk we shall deal with presently. The complaint that goat's milk curdles more quickly than cow's milk only means that the richer milk of the goat has the defects of its qualities. But the curdling can be almost wholly avoided by scrupulous cleanliness and by care in cooking. The notion that goat's milk will not keep, even when properly treated, is absurd. As a test, we once sent a

bottleful by a train service involving three or four changes. The time of the year was April; and the following was the recipient's report: 'Thursday.—Milk received on Tuesday evening in excellent condition. This (Thursday) morning what was left was still quite sweet.'

To obtain a steady supply of milk, it is best to keep two or three animals, as the dairyman does in the case of his cows, and arrange for them to kid at different seasons. A properly milked goat will go on giving a small and gradually lessening quantity of milk for two or three years; but it is plainly more economical for her to kid annually, and so provide a fresh supply of milk every year. A nanny has usually two or three kids at a birth, but one belonging to the present writer has had four and six. Unless kids possess a pedigree it is best to kill them in the first few seconds of their life, before the mother has familiarised herself with their existence by licking or suckling them. The humane way is to strike them behind the ears with a cudgel. This unpleasant task calls for some resolution, but it may be performed so deftly when the kid is on its feet that it does not cry out. If this plan be followed the nanny does not seem to miss her family. Kids may be kept till a few weeks old and then eaten, but the mother, if she be deprived of all her offspring after she has become conscious of having something to look after and feed, will not take her bereavement lightly; and those disposed to be brutal may be warned that a healthy goat is able to bleat more loudly and penetratingly than a sheep.

If the kids are of a good milking strain, Mr H. E. Hughes, a goat-keeper of great experience, argues that they are worth a sovereign at six weeks old. As to 'a good-bred goatling giving from five to six pints a day,' he says it is cheap at 4*l*.

'The actual cost of such an animal, at the age of twenty-one months, is 3*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*; this is reckoning it at 20*s*. at the age of six weeks, and 6*d*. a week for its keep until in milk. This animal will produce, say, three pints of milk a day for the first twenty-six weeks, two pints a day for nine weeks, and one pint a day for four weeks; this equals 763 pints at, say, 2*d*. a pint (cow's milk price)—total 6*l*. 7*s*. 2*d*. Deduct the cost of keep, at 6*d*. a week for thirty-nine weeks, and we have a substantial credit balance of 38*s*. I have reckoned the value

of goat's milk at that of cow's, but to do justice to goat's milk, one may safely add 25 per cent. to its value.'

Mr. A. P. Bossert, who keeps a large number of goats, gives the following advice to a cottager :—

'I should recommend his arrangement so that the goat kids in January or February, and the last year's kid in May or June, when it would be about sixteen months old. The February kid he should retain, also the full-grown goat; the goatling he should sell, also its kid, unless he prefers using it for the table. Thus he has not only a good supply of milk, but he has an early kid ready for next year, is able to sell a goatling, and has one, if not more, kids for the table.

'The milk he would be getting for his own use would probably amount to a matter of 600 pints (allowing for the kid's requirements), and that is worth, say, 600 pints at 2d. = 5*l*. To this add the value of the goatling, say at least 2*l*., and balance the value of the odd kids against the trifling amount he may actually have to pay away (feed being practically gratis), and you have a net return of 7*l*.

'A farm bailiff could probably keep three or four animals. Suppose we say one goat three years old to kid in February, and one goat one year old not to kid that year. Keep a kid for the better animal and sell the oldest goat. The result will be, say, 3*l*. 10*s*. for the goat, 5*l*. for milk as above, and the odd kids to balance the small outlay. Net profit 8*l*. 10*s*.

'More than three goats a cottager, farm-bailiff or small farmer will find himself unable to manage.'

It is so long since the two useful English works on the goat, mentioned at the head of this article, were published that, in order to give our readers the benefit of the latest experience, we thought it worth while during last autumn to address a series of questions on practical goat-keeping to a number of leading goat-keepers. We now propose to supplement our personal knowledge by drawing upon the fresh data which have been obligingly supplied.

It will be convenient perhaps to digest the information given by the following representative correspondents. The table is interesting as showing, to a certain extent, the kind of goats which experienced goat-owners prefer.

Goat-keeper for 35 years. Keeps Anglo-Nubians.

"	"	30	"	"	"	(50).
"	"	20	"	"	Toggenburg cross (3).	
"	"	20	"	"	Anglo-Nubian-Toggenburg	(3).

Goat-keeper for 19 years.	Keeps Chitral-Cashmere (19).
" " 15 "	{ Toggenburg and Toggenburg-English.
" " 15 "	Almost all Toggenburgs (70).
" " 12 "	{ English-Anglo-Nubian, Anglo-Toggenburg, Saanen, Anglo-Saanen, Anglo-Nubian-Saanen, Anglo-Toggenburg-Anglo-Chitral, and Anglo-Nubian-Chitral (38).*
" " 11 "	Anglo-Nubian and Toggenburg (11).
" " 10 "	English and Toggenburg.
" " 9 "	"
" " 8 "	{ Anglo-Nubian, Toggenburg, crosses, and mountain goats (30).
" " 8 "	{ Toggenburg, English, and Irish and Toggenburg crosses (8).
" " 7 "	Toggenburg (12).
" " 7 "	Toggenburgs and their crosses (8).
" " 6½ "	Toggenburg (2).
" " 5 "	{ English, Toggenburg and Nubian, and crosses (8).
" " 3 "	English and Anglo-Nubian (8).
" " 3 "	{ Toggenburg, Dutch, Anglo-Nubian, and crosses (12).
" " 3 "	{ Anglo-Nubian, Toggenburg and Welsh, and crosses (15).
" many years.	Keeps Toggenburg and Irish (4).
" 2½ years.	Keeps Anglo-Nubian and English (6).
" " 2 "	{ Anglo-Nubian, English, and Toggenburg (10).

Mr Birkbeck Ravenscroft, the owner of thirty goats, sends them to the fields in charge of a boy. The animals walk about luxuriously 'in clover or sainfoin up to their bellies.' In the autumn the rations are as follows:—7 A.M., bran and a few oats; 8 A.M., a little hay; 9.30 A.M., swedes or mangolds and bran; 12 noon, cabbages; 4 P.M., swedes or mangolds and bran; 5 P.M., racks filled with hay.

Mr A. P. Bossert, who has seventy animals, adopts this system: Middle of May to middle of August, grass and hedge-stuff; during winter months, hay and roots at 8 A.M.; cabbage, acorns, oats at 12 P.M.; bran-mash (quart to each full-grown animal) with a little crushed oats, barley must be added for a change; hay and roots, 8 P.M. General principle: feed liberally and give as much variety as possible.

* The report of the owner of this large selection of goats on the varieties he likes best is useful. 'I am now satisfied that Saanens or Toggenburgs are the best milkers. Saanens may turn out to be the best [they are thought highly of on a Paris doctor's goat-farm.—H. C.], but this has to be proved. The milk is richer than the Toggenburg's. Half-breeds of either seem to be equally good as milkers. There is no pure Alpine breed.'

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

PLATE I.

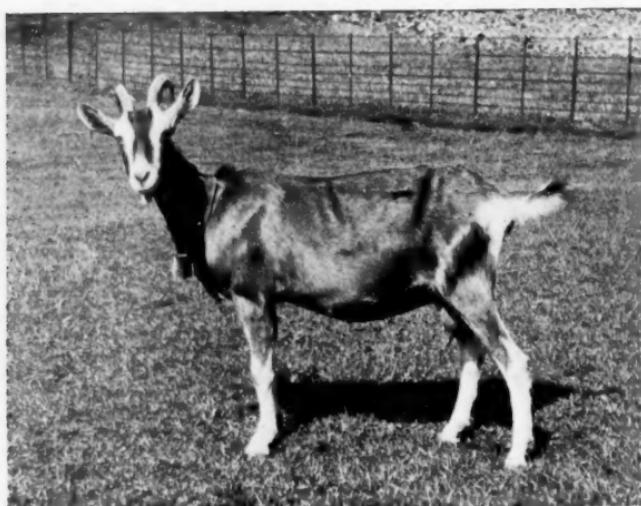


TOGGENBURG.

Produced 166½ Gallons of Milk, March 27-Dec. 10, 1898.

Owner, Mr. C. A. GATES.

PLATE II.



½ TOGGENBURG.

Gave Half a Ton of Milk in a Year.

Owner, Mr. BRYAN HOOK.

PLATE III.



ANGLO-NUBIANS.

[Photo by R. G. Rolfe]

The Horned and one of the Hornless Goats are First Prize Winners.

Owner, Mr. H. E. HUGHES.

PLATE IV.



YOUNG TOGGENBURG.

(Male.)

Owner, Mr. C. C. MACANDREW.

ENGLISH NANNY.

Giving Six Pints Daily.

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ARMOUR AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Mr H. E. Hughes, who devotes a great deal of time to his thirty-eight goats (pl. 3), says: Summer—little else than grass is needed, but a little corn is desirable; winter—morning, coarse middlings and bran, or oats, hay, and water; midday, hay; evening, bran and oats, mangolds and bran, the green food available, water, hay, and salt.

Lady Dunleath reports that in summer her goats go out as they like. In the winter they are 'let out in the paddock for a few hours each day and have a feed of oats, turnips, hay, and sometimes a little cake.' The Duchess of Hamilton and Brandon gives in winter 'a mash once a day; hay, oats, and bran at the other meals.' In the case of the goats of the Hon. Iris Mitford, whose goats are loaned to cottagers, it is expected that they shall be given grass and garden waste in the summer and hay and two feeds of corn in the winter. The Hon. Rose Hubbard gives grass only in the summer, 'with a handful of oats to keep them quiet at milking time.' In the autumn and winter the goats get what they can find when out of doors during the finest part of the day, 'supplemented by hay, carrots, mangolds, and any green-stuff from the garden, crushed oats, and occasionally a small quantity of oil-cake.'

This selection of dietaries is perhaps sufficient to indicate the kind of food on which goats will thrive. Several correspondents keeping a few goats manage, by the utilisation of waste, to feed their animals at very small cost. Some of the goat-keepers whose experience is before us tether their goats; others allow them to roam about; one or two enclose them in hurdles; those who live in the suburbs of towns keep their pets confined to a small yard or an enclosure at the bottom of a garden. Mr Buchanan lets out his goats 'more for the pleasure of looking at them than their own benefit,' and has never had any disease. Mr C. J. H. Tower has his goats (white Cashmere) running wild in a park with deer. Mr Henry Stephens never houses his 'summer or winter.' This is also Lady Warwick's practice. In no case reported upon are the animals kept under cover longer than necessary; and the value of exercise and variety of food is always emphasised.

Mr Bossert and Mr William Smith seem to have discovered that the most economical way of feeding hay

to goats is by placing the hay in a deep box to which access is obtained through a neck-hole. Giving hay in a rack means the pulling out and wasting of as much as is eaten ; for goats, like donkeys, have an objection to soiled food. When goats are taken out to be tethered in the field, their position must be changed several times a day according to the quality of the grass. For milking, it is convenient to let the goats stand on a low bench with their heads in a sort of guillotine. The animals soon learn to jump up on the bench and put their heads through the opening as the contrivance is raised. A goat may advantageously be given part of its food while it is being milked in this way ; or a box containing a piece of rock-salt may be swung within reach of the nanny's head.

It is seldom necessary to build a house for goats, though Mr Bryan Hook and several correspondents, including most of those named, have had buildings specially erected. A stall four feet square is sufficient to accommodate two goats side by side, but of course the apartment in which the stall stands must be airy. To avoid the damage which would be caused by the goats escaping, it is well to have a double hook on the gate of their yard, or double gates. Animals which are not often on rough ground need to have their hoofs pared from time to time ; but this is not a difficult operation.

Averaging the figures of a number of our correspondents, we find the cost of feeding a goat in the country put at $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ a week, and in the suburbs at 1s. 9d. Mr Hughes reports 6d. and 2s. Only one correspondent who gives figures goes beyond 1s. for country feeding ; and two say 3d. and 4d. As to feeding by grazing alone, the secretary of the Goat Society writes to us :

'From April to the end of August or early September a goat can be, during fine weather, almost wholly maintained in milk by grazing and browsing, that is, with grass, leaves, and vegetable refuse, without resorting to corn and hay.'

The same authority informs us that the breeds which furnish the best milkers are 'the Alpine, Toggenburg, and Maltese, and the Anglo-Nubian in some strains.'

'As the Anglo-Nubian is a made-up breed, like the Orpington

fowl' (he writes), 'much depends on the particular strain. With the Alpine, Toggenburg, and Maltese—these breeds coming from countries where breeding for milk has been carried on for centuries—the milking quality is more fixed in the blood and transmissible.'

While many of our other correspondents draw particular attention to the Toggenburg (pl. 1, 2), and Mr Hughes finds the Saanen promising, there seems to be a consensus of opinion that milking qualities in goats, like laying powers in hens, are a matter of strain. 'Any breed,' says one correspondent, 'can be made milkers by selection and proper attention'; and the Rev. E. P. Boys-Smith writes that 'there is no natural breed of milkers.'

With regard to the quantity of milk that a good goat should give after her second kidding—no goat reaches her maximum at her first kidding—several correspondents say 'two quarts at least,' this quantity gradually dropping after a few months. But some of our authorities report higher yields. Mr William Smith has goats that give six pints at kidding and three pints at ten months. Five and a half pints Mr Bossert considers good. Mrs Rushton Ablett possesses a goat yielding about three pints daily after being in milk sixteen months. Mr Ravenscroft had an animal which, 556 days after kidding, was still giving a daily quart. It is better, however, to reckon milk-yields by weight rather than by measure. The scales do not give credit for froth. The following table is summarised from the statistics of the milking competition for goats at the Dairy Show, to be found in the 'Journal of the British Dairy-farmers' Association' for last year. The table gives the average yields in pounds and tenths of a pound on two successive days:—

Name of Goat.	Days since Kidding.	Weight of Milk given.	
		Morning.	Evening.
Sedgemere Faith	174	3·8	3·8
" Melba	195	1·75	1·5
" Capella	196	1·75	1·55
" Sunbeam	257	1·7	1·55
" Louise	228	2	1·9
Montbretia	193	1·1	1·4
She	209	1·15	1·35
Diamond Queen II	245	2	1·8

The average percentage of fat in the milk of one of these goats was as high as 6·20.

The value of a goat is calculated by several correspondents as at least a sovereign for every two pints given at the second kidding up to two quarts. Animals yielding over two quarts are priced on a higher scale. The producer of four quarts would readily command from 10*l.* to double that sum. A goat in milk is obviously more valuable than one which is dry. A higher price is also asked for hornless and pure-bred goats.

As goat's milk is ordinarily so much richer than cow's milk, it is fair to set down its value to the goat's owner as greater than the 3*d.* or 4*d.* a quart at which cow's milk is bought. It is worth anything between 5*d.* and 7*d.* a quart. Mr Bryan Hook, who has established a goat dairy near Farnham, vends his milk at 4*d.* per pint. With regard to kids, if they are kept for stock they will have drunk 15*s.* of milk by the time they are able to leave their mothers; so, unless they can be sold for more than that sum, they will return no profit on food and trouble. At a few weeks old kids are sometimes eaten; but, as the easier and more humane way of disposing of them is to kill all but pedigree stock at birth, it is hardly worth while, in constructing a balance-sheet, to put down any receipts except from the milk. One of the most reasonable balance-sheets we have seen made out by a goat-keeper was the following:—

EXPENSES.	£ s. d.
To yearly loss on a three years' old goat, bought for 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> , and sold locally in about two years' time at	1 2 0
1 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> (reckoning interest) . . . . .	. . . . .
,, food, stud fee (1 <i>s.</i>), and incidentals	2 12 0
,, contribution in respect of labour and housing	1 0 0
	<hr/>
	£4 14 0

REVENUE.

To milk. Say 1 <i>½</i> quarts daily for six months, 1 quart for three months, $\frac{1}{4}$ quart for one month; or 379 quarts for ten months at 5 <i>d.</i>	£7 17 11
--	----------

The milk yield of goats is supposed to fall off from the sixth to the eighth, and in some cases the tenth year. At ten years old some goats known to us are giving three pints daily. The best way to maintain the yield is not

only to feed well—giving as much sloppy food as possible—but to milk well. The Duchess of Hamilton writes:

'If you get a really good goat she will milk the whole year. I have had one which gave milk for two years on end and then still yielded a pint, and was with difficulty dried off.'

In buying goats, it is well to begin with animals which are not too costly. As soon, however, as goat-keeping is understood, nannies of the best milking strain will be found a profitable investment. 'A good goat,' writes Mr H. R. Fillmer, 'costs no more to feed than a bad one.' A goatling should not be put to the billy till it is eighteen months old. The young are not born until twenty-six weeks afterwards. In our own experience we have known of no case in which any assistance at parturition was needed.

Nearly all our correspondents have personal experience of the great value of goat's milk to children. 'All my children,' writes the Duchess of Hamilton, 'have had goat's milk, and have done very well on it.' Lady Dunleath says: 'I give all mine away to the village for infants. This is one of my reasons for keeping goats.' With regard to the common belief that goat's milk has a peculiar taste, we have in our own experience traced it to lack of cleanliness in dealing with the milk, or to something with a strong taste having been fed to the goat. The evidence of three of our lady correspondents, the Duchess of Hamilton, the Hon. Rose Hubbard, and the Hon. Iris Mitford, is all to the effect that with cleanliness and proper feeding there is no objectionable taste in goat's milk. The peculiar taste of some goats' milk in South Africa and Egypt is due to dirty vessels. From repeated experiments which we have made, we have found that people who taste clean goat's milk for the first time are unable to distinguish it from cow's milk except by its greater richness and sweetness.

The replies to our question as to the personal experience of our correspondents respecting disease among goats confirm the general belief as to the excellent health enjoyed by goats when properly cared for. Variety in food, pure water, adequate exercise, unlimited fresh air, good milking, the brushing of the coat, and kind treatment are, along with keeping the animals on reason-

ably dry ground, the chief means of maintaining goats in good condition.

Various schemes of goat-farming have been outlined by enthusiasts, but the difficulty of getting a sufficient tract of suitable land, at once cheap, properly enclosed, and within convenient distance of London, and the limited demand which, after all, exists for goat's milk, are obviously serious obstacles in the way to commercial success. We need not say that there is no market for kid's flesh, such as exists in Paris. As to goat's milk, the demand has practically to be created. In answer to enquiries made of three of the leading London dairy companies, one replied that 'we gave up keeping goats some years ago'; the second that 'we have no demand for goat's milk, or at all events on very rare occasions indeed'; and the third that 'the demand is so small that it would not pay us to purchase a regular supply even in the smallest quantity; we received only one enquiry between April 1904 and August 1905.'

When it is borne in mind that not only the number of goats kept in this country, but their milking powers are steadily increasing, this report of the London dairy companies shows how little has been done by the medical profession to popularise the use of a milk which is necessary no less to the townsman's than the countryman's child. It is a milk which is more palatable than the cow's, because it may be drunk without boiling or sterilising. This is due to the fact that it is the product of an animal which invariably refuses dirty food, which is cleaner in her person than the cow, and, what is of the first importance, suffers very rarely from tuberculosis. Perhaps the new Report of the Royal Commission on the connexion between bovine tuberculosis and 'consumption,' which sets forth so plainly the dangers to which consumers of cow's milk are exposed, may do something to advance the claims of the humble milk-giver concerning the merits and management of which we have endeavoured to give some trustworthy particulars. The Commissioners have no doubt whatever that 'a very considerable amount of disease and loss of life, especially among the young, must be attributed to the consumption of cow's milk containing tubercle bacilli.' Happily, at least one medical paper, the 'British Medical Journal' (March 9, 1907), has

spoken plainly concerning the duty of physicians in the light of the findings of the Commission :—

'It may be said that it is not within the province of a medical man to hunt out shops supplying healthy milk. We believe that, if the private practitioner will look into the question, he will be disposed to agree that the new facts brought to light in recent years have imposed a new duty upon him also. Milk has long been an important element in the treatment of many cases, and when a patient is no longer able to take an ordinary mixed diet he is still very often put upon milk. Now, while a patient who is not very ill may be able to resist disease-producing microbes in milk, the powers of resistance of a patient weakened by a serious illness are reduced, and the risks become greater. If, then, a milk diet is an important part of the treatment of many cases both acute and chronic, the freedom of the milk from contaminations capable of producing injurious effects even in health becomes as important as the purity of drugs or the sterilisation of instruments.'

The advance of goat-keeping on common-sense lines is hindered in another way than by ignorance, on the part of the medical profession and the public, of the good qualities of the milk of the goat and the ease and economy with which she may be kept. It is not the only grievance of intelligent goat-keepers against the Board of Agriculture that it makes no effort to include goats in its annual census, and does nothing to encourage the breeders of the best, as is done on the Continent. Although the goat stock of the kingdom is suffering from inbreeding to a deplorable extent, as an examination of the Herd-book shows, the Board will not permit the importation of new blood even under quarantine restrictions. An Assistant Secretary has been good enough to state to us, as follows, the case for refusing admission :—

'SIR,—I have laid before the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries your further letter of the 26th ult., on the subject of the landing of goats in Great Britain from abroad, and in reply I am to point out that inasmuch as the landing in this country of goats brought from the Continent of Europe is attended with considerable risk of the introduction of foot-and-mouth disease, and might easily have consequences far outweighing any economic advantages to be derived from the importation of this class of animal, such importation can be sanctioned only on rare occasions and in very exceptional

circumstances. The permission granted to the British Goat Society in respect of the goats which were landed at Southampton in February of last year, was intended to be quite exceptional; and the Board intimated to that Society that it was unlikely that the permission would be repeated. In these circumstances the Board have decided not to authorise any further importation at the present time.'

We shall content ourselves with appending some of our correspondents' criticisms on the attitude assumed by the Board.

'If horses are allowed to enter the country, why should the Board exclude goats?'

'Toggenburg and Mohair goats are wofully inbred. I am obliged to give up Mohair goats for this reason. As quarantine is amply protective, the Board's action is an oppressive absurdity.'

'The number of goats which it is desired to import could only be small, as the expense would be considerable.'

'The Board ought certainly to license the importation of stock goats, under proper conditions, by the British Goat Society and the Toggenburg Club, in order to recruit breeds like the Toggenburg and the Saanen.'

'Unless a few animals are imported shortly I do not know where breeders are to find unrelated blood. To inbreed further or to use inferior males means failure to goat-breeding in this country.'

'Most absurd. England is standing in its own light in not fostering goat-keeping. In Switzerland and Germany goat-keeping is supported by the State because the importance of giving children a good start in life is recognised, and because it is known that goat-keeping encourages thrift.'

It seems to us that Lord Carrington and Sir Edward Strachey have been interrogated in Parliament on matters of less real importance to the community than the action of the Board of Agriculture in refusing quarantine licenses for the importation of less than a score of stock goats in order to increase the stamina and commercial value of the 'poor man's cow.' It is interesting to contrast with the attitude of the Board the action of the United States Department of Agriculture. A professor on its staff lately came to Europe and took back with him to America no fewer than sixty-eight goats.

HOME COUNTIES.

Art. VI.—THE ENGLISH MANOR.

1. *The Growth of the Manor.* By P. Vinogradoff, D.C.L. London : Swan Sonnenschein ; New York : Macmillan, 1905.
2. *The Manor and Manorial Records.* By Nathaniel J. Hone. 'Antiquary's Books' series. London : Methuen, 1906.
3. *The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor, 1086-1565.* By Frances G. Davenport, Ph.D. Cambridge : University Press, 1906.
4. *The Domesday Inquest.* By Adolphus Ballard, LL.B. 'Antiquary's Books' series. London : Methuen, 1906.
5. *The English Village Community. An Essay in Economic History.* By F. Seebohm, LL.D. London : Longmans, 1883. (Third edition, 1884.)
6. *Villainage in England. Essays in English Mediæval History.* By Paul Vinogradoff. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1892.
7. *Domesday Book and Beyond. Three Essays in the Early History of England.* By F. W. Maitland, LL.D. Cambridge : University Press, 1897.

STARTING from the close of the thirteenth century, when the manor was already a well-developed unit in the life of the country, a working part of the much-abused but popularly misunderstood 'feudal system,' English investigators, such as Maine, Seebohm, Maitland, Pollock, Round, and Stevenson—to name but a few—and foreign scholars like Liebermann, Gross, and Vinogradoff, have worked backwards, in regard to its character and growth, from the known to the less known. From the period when the manorial court-rolls and 'extents' begin to appear in evidence, from the Hundred Rolls of Edward I to the great Domesday Survey, and farther back to the collections of the oldest English laws and of charters or 'land-books' ('title-deeds' as we should now call them) which form the briefer materials existing from the pre-Norman period, all have been subjected to minute and careful examination. Not merely nor mainly from the view of politics or of law, but chiefly in the light of the economic facts pertaining to the settlement of an agricultural people has the interesting problem been

considered, What is the origin of the English manor? Politics, justice, and law, public and private, soon gather round the history of this local centre—a sure testimony to its vitality as the core of local free government. Prof. Vinogradoff, in his latest work,* has gathered together the results of previous research; with him as our guide, we will endeavour to sketch the leading lines of the history and character of the manor as now determined.

In bare terms the early manor consisted of two parts—land in a more or less uncertain measure, and a group of cultivators settled upon it, who by its tilth gained their livelihood. The way in which the land was disposed and tilled, the rules between man and man arising out of their work, the relations between them and those whom the king held responsible for tribute to the State from the land, all gradually became fixed and defined. At a later stage of evolution the manor, as a recognised unit of local government, may have become complicated by the action of legal restriction and freshly imposed duties; but the two main features, land and people, with the two elements, economic value and rights of justice, underlie its character throughout. At the head of the settlement was, in old English times, the thegn or lord, probably with his hall as the focus of the village; after the Conquest, the hall became the *manerium*, the dwelling-place of the lord, whence the name manor applied to the whole.

Beginning with the earliest inhabitants of Britain of whom there is historic knowledge, account is to be taken of Celtic society, of the Scottish and Irish clan-systems, and of Welsh tribal arrangements, how the people lived, how they held land, what were the conceptions of polity. The strength of the ties of blood-relationship following from the strict development of the family life affected every stage of social economy.† The people seem to have pursued grazing husbandry, living on dairy-produce, on their herds, sheep and pigs, very little arable soil being cultivated; hence the distribution of the land into large

* It should be remarked that 'The Growth of the Manor' presupposes a considerable acquaintance with other recent writings (including his own), and with the historical and some legal terminology of the subject.

† Dr Seebohm, who has made a special study of 'The Tribal System in Wales,' has two instructive chapters on the features of the Welsh and Irish systems in 'The Village Community.'

tracts for the great tribes or septs, with frequent shifting or redistribution of the inner family settlements. When, at a later stage, agriculture was taken up, 'the soil remained in the ownership of the tribal community,' while strips of land were assigned to households or villages. In Wales the codes show that the organisation of the village communities thence arising was arranged on two varieties of joint tenancy, one of them resembling the English gavelkind; both were 'produced by a conception of the value of the use of land very different from the feudal one.' Discussing the relative dependence and independence of the members of Celtic society, Prof. Vinogradoff disputes the truth of the two general views, of a free democracy on the one hand, on the other, 'of an association of idle conquerors living on the work of natives'; he points out a third reading of the facts, showing from the Welsh documents that free and unfree lived side by side in separate communities; that military service and dues of purveyance and maintenance, economic difficulties and frequent loans, with other features, prove and explain the existence of 'inequality among the people and the personal influence of powerful men.'

The result of Prof. Vinogradoff's analysis is that 'some of the elements which went towards the formation of the manor' may be found among the Celts, but incomplete and disconnected; 'for the chief purposes of defence and organisation the tribal grouping still remained the principal scheme of society.' On coming to the effects of the Roman occupation we must not forget the abiding power of the Celts in the larger portion of the island, able to resist invasion from Piets, Saxons, and Angles; and, pressed either by the invaders or by over-population, sending out frequent bands of emigrants to Armorica, which, as Brittany, bears the marks of their settlement and speech to this day. It is not only that their persistence tells of Roman weakness; it witnesses to 'a strong underrcurrent of Celtic life in Great Britain of the fifth and sixth centuries.'

That Roman institutions probably played a part in the formation of the manor and village life in England is one of the leading ideas in Dr Seeböhm's well-known volume. Though the conclusions at which he arrives do not all produce conviction, we owe him a great debt in

that this learned and enthusiastic essay has stimulated discussion and further enquiry. He endeavours to trace many elements of the manor, and many facts incident to its tenants, back across old English laws and times to Roman or Roman-German origins. He believes the proof to be clear that manors already existed in the seventh century, and would even carry them back to the sixth, in the days of Ethelbert; the complete serfdom of the 'gebúrs' or villains under the lord being inferred and insisted on throughout. Analogies to these early English manors would be found on the Continent in the *villas* of South-German districts which had been under Roman rule and the Roman land-system of the later Empire; while the duties and services in early German tribal settlements resemble what are found in England. It is further suggested that the three-field system of cultivation, with its intermixed strips, which was 'from the first the shell of a community in serfdom,' was brought over to this country from South Germany by Romanised landowners.

This theory of the connexion of the Roman villa with the English manor has a certain fascination, but we hold that it cannot be historically maintained; many of the arguments in its support are untenable and have been refuted by later scholars, notably by Mr Gomme and Prof. Maitland. Dr Seebohm pays very little attention to the side of social economy which takes account of the natural action and reaction of the tenants and their occupation upon each other, and of the interplay of regulations made by the men who held and worked the land for themselves and their lord. The tendency to see 'serfdom' in the state of the 'gebúrs' and the villains all over the country has blinded the eye to the actual daily needs of fixed duties and seasons, settled by the workers themselves, and to the customary rights and laws which grew up therefrom. The consideration of this living independence is of course intimately connected with the question, why were the scattered strips of each holder intermixed among those of his fellows? The answer, that it was to ensure a fair distribution of the best as well as of the poorer soil of the village fields—fields 'laid out by men who would sacrifice economy and efficiency at the shrine of equality,' to use Prof. Maitland's striking words—is

inconsistent with Roman methods, and implies much freedom among the original English settlers.

In order truly to estimate the influence of the Romans on the social economy of Britain, we must consider their policy in other distant parts of the Empire in these centuries of decadence, their style of rural economy, and the gradual changes in tenure of land and the status of labour; because, although the material civilisation and military organisation of Rome in this country may be pictured from numerous remains and monuments, there are no records to show what social institutions and customs they brought into the island, or how far they adopted those of native growth. True to the principle of seeking natural causes on the soil, Prof. Vinogradoff, in a masterly sketch of the conditions of rural life and land-holding under the breaking bonds of the centralisation of the later Empire, emphasises the fact that the Romans did not impose their urban and municipal systems at once upon conquered countries; but, with due provision for authority and tribute, left the local institutions and customs intact, to work out a more or less modified organisation in the future. He finds in the association of the *pagus*, with its large territory, some analogy to the Celtic divisions, and in the *vicus* or village-group of peasantry a basis of modest but persistent local life in the provinces on the Continent, foreign to Roman ideals, but acquiesced in by the conquerors. The ancient villages may in many cases have existed side by side with the *fundus* or private estate.

Again, it is important to bear in mind the natural geographic features of husbandry in the Western Empire. That of the south, Italy, and the Mediterranean countries, with small holdings, employed a small plough of two oxen and pursued very high culture of crops, grew the vine and olive, but bred comparatively few cattle; while in the northern countries inclemency of climate, the wilder character of the land, and the want of energetic human labour induced a preponderance of grazing husbandry to which tillage bore a small proportion. Husbandry thus long remains superficial, varying from occasional occupation of the waste in the Celtic tribal districts and, in the earlier days of German migration, through reckless occupation of tracts fertilised by burn-

ing down of woods and grass, to open field culture with a two-course and three-course rotation of crops.' Here came in the big plough with its team of labouring oxen and its long furrows. The southern economy would favour individualistic rights in land; the northern, especially with the cumbersome open-field system in wide use, would strengthen communalistic customs of possession. So widely did these open-field practices obtain among the northern races that Prof. Vinogradoff believes they are chiefly to be accounted for by 'the close resemblance of the primitive agrarian habits of northern barbarians, be they Celts, Germans, or Slavs,' rather than by the unity of Roman influence upon barbarian agriculture.

The remains of Roman houses and villas found in England imply the existence of wealthy men and probably of great landowners such as were spread through the Empire. But this is not to say that the constitution of their estates and economic relationships can be looked upon as the forerunners of the manor. On the contrary, the growth of political power and coercive rights among the great landowners in the Roman provinces produced by the social and administrative chaos of the fourth and fifth centuries, accompanied by the movement to improve the cultivation of land by 'directing efforts and seeking profits by the energy and insight of the labourers themselves rather than by management from above,' show that this is not historically true. The *coloni*, originally free farmers, afterwards leaseholders, paid rents or produce for their land; and labour services rarely appear. Their holdings were to be self-supporting and profitable; they were not intended to supply labour for the home farm. Modern research indicates the increase and survival of this order of small landholders, notwithstanding the decay above them; in the Roman provinces of the East, as of the West, there was a spontaneous formation of communal institutions arising out of economic circumstances common to all, among which was 'the necessity for territorial lords to organise their districts and possessions, not on the principle of the steward's absolute rule, but on that of tributary self-government.'

Now, if Britain be regarded as one of these provinces, it will be noted that the character of the Celtic tribes and of the country would mark out the agricultural system,

like that of other northern provinces, as communalistic, not individualistic. The common life appears in the hamlets, and still more in the villages.

'In such circumstances systems of extensive cultivation arise of themselves; they have been called, rather inaccurately, open-field systems. . . . Communal usages, as distinct from the clan or the private estate, arise, not as the outcome of a definite national current or the production of the organising power of the landlord, but from the requirements of extensive agricultural settlement, and in a variety of shades and forms, both in Celtic and in Romanised districts.'

The landlord and the villa had their powerful place in the general scheme of colonisation; but Prof Vinogradoff, differing here from Fustel de Coulanges, who derived all property in land from private ownership, declares that 'the organising absolutism of the landlord is a fiction,' dangerous because it shuts out the view of surrounding facts. Still less does he agree with Mr Seebohm that the organised Roman villa was the origin of the English manor. The positive conclusion, as regards England, is not, and cannot be, very definite; but it may be said that 'the rural arrangements of the Roman period seem to have been to a great extent determined by Celtic antecedents,' governed by the difficulties interposed by distance against private enterprise, but with considerable free play under the cover of the great lordships of the emperor, the magnates, and the cities.

Passing from the claims of Celt and Roman to some formative elements, if of uncertain force, in the evolution of the manor, we come to a new order of things, caused by the gradual conquest of our island by the Teutonic and Scandinavian tribes. We remind ourselves that, besides the frequent descents on our coasts during the last century of Roman occupation, the period of successive struggles, partial settlements and peace, and fresh raids and immigrations, which we call Old English, lasted over 700 years. At the end of that time came the Normans, but already in the eighth century England was Teutonic in language and institutions. Under the sway of various kinships, notwithstanding the advance of political unity, we may expect a considerable variety of local customs and law.

A settled order of ranks of people was recognised by the close of the sixth century in Kent, showing 'earls,' 'ceorls,' 'loets,' and slaves; the ceorls being the main class of freemen, the 'loets' absorbing the descendants of conquered tribes, personally free but paying tribute. In later centuries the laws of Ine and Alfred in Wessex and Mercia indicate changes; we find thanes of two degrees, one of which may have included Welshmen; the 'ceorls,' some of whom are now dependent, some free husbandmen able to rise; and 'wealhs' in place of 'loets.' An important principle is now at work, 'the mutual tie of protection and service spreading in all parts of society, among common people and among powerful people.' The private lord, 'hlaford,' protects the lower freemen, and looks after their good conduct, while they render him some service in return. Higher in the scale, kings and magnates, besides the help in military and administrative matters given by old institutions, look to this mutual tie—which the word 'patronage,' in its English sense, seems hardly to express—for the special personal service of their thanes and followers. These, receiving rewards in land on various conditions, gradually grew into professional classes of officials and military men. The estate entrusted to the great soldier of the seventh century thus became of importance; besides his military duties, and the collection of the tribute due from his land, he had to see that it was settled with tenants who would duly cultivate it, i.e. the 'gebúrs' or peasant settlers, some of whom received a house or stock as well as a plot of land. These men would remain on the land even though there might be a change of lord.

The struggle with the Danes further deepened class distinctions, on account of the strenuous necessity for both tribute and regular military service. The tendency was to separate warriors from peasants; and this had a sinister influence in lowering the status of the latter. Danish arrogance would have made the simple Danish soldier (of the northern districts) the equal of an Englishman of high rank, but this was hardly long maintained; in 993 all free English and Norsemen were declared of equal worth. Towards the close of this period the practice of 'wergeld'—fines payable to the kindred of a murdered man—decayed, owing to the derangement and loss of

tribal relationships; and this remarkable link with ancient modes of life disappeared, new means of enforcing responsibility and order having grown up.

If we now turn our glance from personal rank in society at large to the grouping of the people, we come back again to the early association in kindreds to which we have just alluded. Like the Celts, the Anglo-Saxons and the Norsemen were closely gathered together in wide family groups with some limit of kinship—the Norse law went up to the degree of sixth cousins—whose members had regulated duties and responsibilities for one another. Some remains of this bond of relationship endured to the tenth century and later. Inner details of the Old English 'mægth' must be inferred from what is known of similar early Germanic tribes. Prof. Vinogradoff suggests that it was 'not merely a chain of links of relationship, or a web of rights and claims stretching from a given individual in all possible directions; it was a definite body, . . . a body of natural growth and not of mutual consent,' with the political aim of protection and joint responsibility. Further, the prevalence of patronymic place-names in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and the shores of East Anglia, in Epping, Tooting, Woking, etc., seems to show that the allotment of territory to each 'mægth' was the mode of settlement by the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles.

Alongside of this, but perhaps more widely spread, is the better known 'hide.'* The family or household is at the basis of the Old English *hūwisc*, *hūwschip*, which was settled on the hide or family land, 'terra unius familiæ'; here the group gave its designation to the land. Other corroborative testimony goes to show the prominent part played by 'the family holding as a unity in the occupation of the soil by the English'; that 'for purposes of cultivation and rendering of dues' it extended all over England in both Welsh and Anglo-Saxon districts, and continued among free settlers for centuries. The strength of the family holding was that it was governed by 'rule' of popular custom, of folk-right'; the land so

* An earlier word *hūwid* is indicated, derived from *hūw-*, *hūg*, household family, from which the word *higid* and other forms of *hide* have sprouted.—'New English Dictionary.'

ruled was folk-land.* On the other hand, when the king made a grant from his own domains to a church or to any special person, and transferred to the church or the grantee his claim to the tribute or to any royal fines due from the holders of the tract granted; the act of transfer was recorded in a 'boc' (book or charter), with credible witnesses thereto. This land was held by right of the book—it was 'book-land'; but the tenants continued to exercise their customary rights as before.

The Old English villages, or 'túns,' were the centres in which the bulk of the people drew together, for cultivation and defence under the stress of wars and invasions, into groups larger and stronger than hamlets or single farms. The 'tún,' later the 'vill,' became the prevailing form of groups of considerable size, the administrative unit over which stand the hundred and the shire. The word 'township' expresses the Old English sense of place and people better than the Norman 'vill,' while 'town' is now appropriated by the borough and the larger growth out of the 'tún.' The 'vill,' which proceeded from the 'tún,' remained 'the normal territorial division in the feudal epoch.' The tún, therefore, is the nexus in Britain between the elements of old tribal society and more modern institutions, a flexible enclosure which might and did expand to different needs, and which was in due time hospitable to the manor. A glance must be cast first at the conditions of the land in the old township, its shares and holdings; secondly, at the living structure working within it.

A township was a collection of households whose social rights and duties were graduated according to the proportion of the shares of land held by them; some held a whole hide, some half, some a quarter ('virgate'), some a half-virgate ('bovate'), others only a cottage, a toft, or a croft. They held as shareholders in a community having certain external liabilities as a unit. The original standard of the relations of the household within the community was the hide, or its equivalent in some counties—the 'carucate' or the 'sulung.' But the hide

* We owe the restoration of the old interpretation of the term 'Folk-land'—put by Spelman as 'terra popularis communis jure et sine servitio possessa'—turned aside by Allen in 1890, to the clear intuition of Vinogradoff.—'English Historical Review,' viii, 17.

was not a fixed measure of land, it varied in different places and at different times; it seems to have been indefinite in size and appurtenances; it was the land of one family, and even might expand with agricultural requirements. For its dues to the State the whole township was assessed at a certain average value; i.e. taxation was to be paid upon a certain proportion only, as is the case with local rateable values at the present day. Old English documents called the unit of assessment by which the township acquitted itself of its public dues, 'wara-' or 'war-land' (from A.S. 'werian,' to acquit or answer for). This ideal fiscal unit might be also named from the hide, and the 'geld-hide,'* a figurative name for the taxable property in townships, was the term adopted by the officers of the Domesday Inquest.

The land of the ordinary township consisted of three kinds—very large portions of waste and often wood, a few grass meadows (much valued), and, most important of all, the arable, which lay in scattered strips in the various fields and shots.

'Every holding presented a bundle of these strips equal to other bundles of the same denomination; everybody had to conform to the same rules and methods in regard to the rotation and cultivation of crops; and, when these had been gathered, the strips relapsed into the state of an open field in common use. The homesteads and closes around them were kept under separate management, but had been allotted by the community and could in some cases be subjected to re-allotment.' ('Growth of the Manor,' p. 166.)

These words may present the principles underlying agricultural life for centuries, allowing for adaptations according to varieties of soil and position, growth of families and changes of political history. For a long while the waste—marsh, wood, or moor—was inter-commoned by neighbouring townships; definite boundaries restricted the rights of common, for each 'tún' grew with the spread of cultivation and the settlement of fresh enclosures. Questions connected with the reclamation of waste ('assarts') and interference with rights of common

* Mr Round maintains that the 'geld-hide' of Domesday was independent of area or value. Some suppose it to mean 120 acres of arable land.

occur very early. The meadow-land was allotted yearly in measured portions to the tenants, and, like the arable fields, was cast open for pasture after the hay harvest.* The arable land of the 'tún' was arranged on what is called the open-field system, which prevailed in many European countries and the chief features of which are well known. The holder of, say, a hide could not take it in a compact block; it was distributed by strips of several acres in the different furlongs or shots † of the community's arable, thin balks of turf separating his plot from those of his neighbours' in each case. So also with the smaller shares; their strips were, in proportion, intermixed over the land tilled by the plough. The shape and size of the strips were originally determined by the large plough and its team of eight oxen. While the crops were growing, they were protected by light fences or movable hedges, which were removed after harvest, leaving the whole land open for pasture until the next ploughing time. Moreover, every year a certain proportion of the whole was left fallow; in some districts it would be half, in others one-third, according as the community had adopted the two-field or the three-field course. This fallow was also thrown open and used as common pasture, thus giving opportunity for the keep of cattle alongside of the plots to be ploughed and cropped, and for the manuring of the land by folding the animals.

Out of such a rural framework arose the natural necessity for regulation and custom; the allocation of so many kine, sheep, or pigs on the waste according to the household share, the allotment of the meadow-land, the cutting of the grass, the times and seasons of casting down fences, folding or pasturing cattle, and refencing the open fields after harvest, the sequence in which the furlongs or shots should be used, drainage, choice of crops—all these and other like matters were regulated by the common agreement of the men of the township, not by the will of individuals. But communal right and

* Meadow-lands are often called Lammas lands; but the early form *hláfmasse*, bread-mass, shows that it was the corn-harvest functions in which the name originated, with which the date of Lammas-tide, August 1, and old usage of the term agree.

† *Shot*, a field divided off. In some parts of the country even the shots fit for arable may not have lain close together.

shareholder's right were each recognised. Dr Vinogradoff lays stress upon the several pastoral features as evidence of the entirely communal character of the arrangements of the early 'tún,' and suggests that the Teutonic settlers, when they arrived in Britain, must have found some land in cultivation by Celts and Romans, which may have influenced their first methods of allotment. Here we must be careful not to understand *ownership* by the early community as a whole, of which in this country Prof. Maitland warns us there is no proof; rather do we see strong individual rights. The supposed 'survivals' in property attached to certain boroughs do not concern the ancient village community.

When we come to the living organisation of the 'tún' there is little direct evidence; but cautious reasoning and philosophical as well as logical inference can tell us much. We are glad to see that the existence and force of bylaws as a necessary concomitant of the order of a township from the earliest times is upheld by Prof. Vinogradoff, who finds 'every point of village husbandry that we have been describing illustrated by rules and prohibitions emanating from the authority of village courts.' He emphasises 'the fact that all the material arrangements which made the working of the courts and the enactment of bylaws necessary stretch right up to the epoch of the first occupation of the land by the early English settlers' (*op. cit.* p. 187). The bylaws* proper and the declaration of custom by sworn men chosen from the householders formed a body of customary law in each village; the same regulative power existed in the manor, because the courts represented 'the common necessities of the rural group in its peculiar management of champion farming.'

Men chosen to do special work by the community are enumerated, such as herdsmen, shepherds, swineherds, woodwards, and heywards—the last were called in Yorkshire bylaw men, whose duty it was to see that the hedges or fences were duly placed and removed; these are all probably of more or less ancient date. The 'gerefā,' *greave*, or *reeve*, belonged to Old English times;

* Bylaw, the law of a *by*, a township. The derivation of the word itself points to an early period.

his early duties are not clearly recorded, but, judged by his later importance, he was the headman of the township, and perhaps also the thane's steward, not necessarily servile. He was the forerunner of one of our old friends, the 'reeve and four men' of the thirteenth century, who as jurors represented the township at the hundred court; with just inference Dr Vinogradoff carries him back in a similar capacity with his fellows to a period at least before Edward the Confessor. 'The elements for working the inquest juries and the hundred court were evidently in existence, and more or less in shape, before the day when King Edward was alive and dead.' But this evidence of the English origin of inquest juries, and of the meaning of the hundredors, is still maintained by Dr Vinogradoff against the body of opinion which, some years ago, declared that the sworn inquest is found to be of Frankish birth.* Prof. Maitland admitted that England might possibly not be 'utterly unprepared' for its introduction at the Conquest; and these later arguments tend to show that the admission is justly called for.

In the same way we get glimpses of the town-moot, the meetings for the transaction of local affairs, here and there mentioned in Domesday as summoned by the reeve, held in the hall of the chief house (the 'halimote' of the manor) or in the open air, attended by the free-holders as well as the unfree, the 'nucleus of rural administration.'

'We may suppose that, in the period before the Conquest, in ordinary and petty cases, the folkmote of the township not only gave its economic directions, but enforced them either directly through judgments and verdicts, or indirectly by the derived authority of its officers and servants' (*op. cit.* p. 195).

Some may say this is debateable ground, but the cautious reasoning carries conviction. The humble doings of the peasantry, the day of small things, in thousands of quiet villages all over the land in the matter of self-imposed laws, are appraised by Dr Vinogradoff at a higher historical value than by some of his legal friends.†

The township, on account of its natural stability, was

* Pollock and Maitland, 'History of English Law,' i, 119, 122.

† 'History of English Law,' i, 612, 613; 'Domesday and Beyond,' pp. 340, 350.

charged by the shire and was responsible for the tribute due to the Government, whereof each shareholder paid his part; he was 'in scot and in lot' with the township. It also did suit to the hundred court, being represented there by the reeve and the four sworn men, to help in doing justice. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the system of frank-pledge was introduced, in which the township had to play its part, answering for its members who were 'in frank pledge'; it was also answerable for certain crimes and for the hue and cry to pursue the trail of stolen cattle. Such were some of its growing links with the political life of the nation.

We have yet to learn something of the connexion of thane and lord with the township. Besides the early tribal settlements, the fostering care of king, church, and great men by degrees established many others which no doubt felt the influence of personal will. The principle of patronage already mentioned, later called commendation, brought the higher and the lower ranks together. Each depended on the other; the free husbandman 'commended' himself to the more powerful 'hlaford,' and became his 'man'* in return for defence or help of various kinds. This 'commendation' was sometimes dissoluble; a man might take his land and re-commend himself to another lord; but latterly that was not a frequent case. Obligations tended to become permanent; at the close of the Old English period the practice was growing 'into a lasting lordship over men and their land.'

Another step was made when the Anglo-Saxon kings granted power of private jurisdiction to local lords, by which they became the agents for dispensing public justice in petty causes and disputes. The territorial limits of such jurisdictions included both freemen with higher rights and 'gebūrs' or peasants with mixed rights; the lord's rights became patrimonial, and besides *sac* and *soc*, i.e. cause and suit (of court), included the dealing with definite classes of crimes in his court. Under these grants the freemen, formerly direct subjects of the king, became dependent ratepaying tenants to the lords, who

* Whence also the expressive term 'homage.' See Dr Maitland's valuable account of commendation and what it involved, 'Domesday and Beyond,' pp. 69-75.

were thus intermediate. This alienation of the royal rights over villages and villagers is the starting-point of Prof. Maitland when investigating the 'growth of seigniorial power' and the processes tending towards the creation of manors.

The rise of a standing military order, inevitable during the Danish wars, not only laid burdens towards its support on the people, whose militia ('fyrd') could not suffice, but the position of the lower freemen became subordinate. By slow degrees their early part as fighting-men was exchanged for that of cultivators and labourers, while that of the thane was rising in importance with the new duties attached to his estate. Thus 'commendation,' the gifts of royal rights, and the increase, before the Norman period, of a military profession, were all factors in the natural growth of a lordship over the township. Some economic causes were also intertwined.

From the beginning of the English occupation there were great landowners as well as the small joint-shareholders. The king possessed very large tracts; his companions, earls and thanes, and men high in rank or office, were all endowed with land; the Church also soon became a great landowner; bishops and abbots exercised lordship. To fit out fresh cultivators of an estate, capital was lent, and cattle, sheep, and corn sometimes provided, 'with the consequence that those who accepted help frequently lapsed into a condition of dependency' on the lenders. The lords followed or modified the same general methods of agriculture, and were linked with the same system of dues and duties on the land as the open-field community, an economic basis which 'made it more easy to slide from one variety into the other, and to combine tenures of different origin and different degrees of dependence under one and the same lordship.'

The tribute or rent was largely paid in kind. It consisted first, of customary allowances of food to the lord and his servants when journeying through his estate (the king's royal progresses and rights of purveyance arose in the same way); secondly, the erection of barns and out-houses in which to store the collected produce or 'farm' due to the lord. So originated the 'barton' and the 'bere-wick,' farmsteads for housing the barley and corn, and the 'herdwick,' a storehouse for dairy-produce, which later

formed centres for subdivisions of manors. Mr Ballard, enquiring what were 'the vill and the manor' described in Domesday-book, concludes that a berewick of that date contained demesne land and villains, and was a regular manor, except that it had no hall. When the lord had his own demesne, or home-farm, which, after no long time must have become the general rule, his house and farmstead became the hall, *aula*, the centre of business with his steward, servants, and tenants. In some early cases, where the lord's land was scattered in strips among those of his tenants and was cultivated by them for his use, under the term of 'gafol-earth,' there appears to have been no hall. The history of demesne land, and of the rents and services attached to it, has much to do with the development of the manor.

In a regular manor, of which there are many examples in Domesday, the important officer was the reeve, a description of whose duties, dating from the eleventh century, is extant; he seems to have combined the duties of steward and attention to his master's interests with a knowledge of the customs of the folk, which he was to respect. Prof. Vinogradoff assumes that this 'gerefa' was still mainly an elective local officer, a headman, perhaps dependent on the lord, but not his mere personal steward. The labourers lived on ground attached to the demesne. In early times many of these had been slaves; by degrees slaves diminish, and free workmen appear; and a boor class of mixed elements arose, dwelling on the demesne in a kind of hereditary dependence, some of these men being paid for their labour by grants of small plots of land, the croft or the toft.

Much is learnt of Old English manorial economy from the 'Rectitudines singularum personarum,' a treatise drawn up in the eleventh century. The services by which each man holds his land are set forth for a thane, a 'geneat' (a follower, nearly answering to the villain), a 'gebür,' and a cottager with five acres. The 'gebür' and the cotter are free men, but both do week-work, the cotter one day in the week, the 'gebür' usually two days a week, with the addition of a third day during spring and harvest (he is the man who is burdened by his debt for outfit and stock). The 'geneat' renders no

week-work but helps in harvest; he pays 'gafol' or rent and performs services as a messenger, riding and carrying at his lord's command. The thane holds his land by military service, the *trinoda necessitas*, and other honourable duties. Prof. Maitland sums up thus:

'The lord has a village; he has demesne land which is cultivated for him by the labour of his tenants; these tenants pay "gafol" in money or in kind; some of them assist him when called upon to do so, others work steadily from day to day; in many particulars the extent of work due from them is ascertained.' ('Domesday and Beyond,' p. 331.)

As to the origin of the system, Dr Vinogradoff's conclusion is,

'firstly, that the manorial system arises at the end of the Old English period, mainly in consequence of the subjection of a labouring population of free descent to a military and capitalistic class; and secondly, that the personal authority of the lord of the manor is gradually gaining the mastery over a rural community of ancient and independent growth.'

Feudal rule, brought into England by the Norman Conquest, was not established, roughly speaking, for about a century, a period of struggle between the new principles and the traditional customs. After general recognition followed legal elaboration during rather more than another century, closing with the reign of Edward I.* The history of the manor shares in both these phases. The assumption of the Domesday Survey that all land in England was held in a kind of graduated ownership from the king downwards, could not, without great social change, be fitted on to the somewhat easy and intermixed state of tenures, obligations, and services existing at the death of Edward the Confessor. Men and their land were cut to suit the feudal standard; and 'people had now to look not so much to their time-honoured associations in township, hundred, and shire, as

* Authorities for these centuries abound, chief among them Domesday-book and the Hundred Rolls, public records; Glanville and Bracton, the great lawyers; and local manorial documents, as accounts, 'extents,' and court-rolls, which exist from the thirteenth century (a few accounts date from the twelfth century).

to their relations of personal and territorial dependence.' The lower classes especially suffered through the roughshod apportionment on the basis of services; all who rendered agricultural service, whether of free birth or not, were assigned to the class of villains, 'bordarii,' and cottagers, minor distinctions being ignored.

The estate, whether large or small, with a hall or without one, a piece of land with a barton, or one in possession of but a single person—the Norman surveyors called any of these a manor, adopting it as the unit for local action; and thus came about the succession to the old economic organisation, which was the essence of communal and manorial existence for centuries before and after the Conquest. Ideas of tenure and service were now to prevail, yet could not cast out all old practice of local associated responsibility. The uniformity of the manorial scheme grew with succeeding generations, through subinfeudation and division on the one hand, through assimilation of small plots and various tendencies to increase on the other. The township, under the French name 'vill,' which underlay the manor [sometimes the manor extended over several townships, but this did not affect the principle] went on with its functions; it supplied the economic organisation, frank-pledge, watch and ward, presentments, local assessment of taxes, and sent its representatives to the hundred and the shire court. The protection of the lord, and the institution of a court, with local jurisdiction, under his apparent authority, strengthened the combination of manor and vill with mutual advantages. Varieties occurred in the process of manorialisation. A very large vill might contain several manors; fresh villages were planted from time to time; a vill might possess outlying pieces of land in a neighbouring vill;* but such circumstances adjusted themselves in course of time to a system which, after all, presented some elasticity.

With the relation of the lord towards his superiors we are not concerned; the legal theory of the feudal State set forth by Norman lawyers declares the lord to be sole owner within his manor, and derives all rights

* As was the case in Cambridgeshire, and in one or two large parishes near London till a few years ago. Many an old parish represents the ancient township.

will certainly charm Mr Frederic Harrison. He will not pin his faith to Christianity, or believe in the fall of Adam, or trouble much about sin. And though his life will be orderly, yet, if he judges the bringing-up of children inexpedient, he may grant himself a plenary indulgence for conduct which Mr Wells, who does not recommend it, terms 'sterile vice.' Science would then fall under the poet's anathema, making itself 'procureess to the lords of hell.' This hardly promises regeneration for mankind; our ethical 'Ought' becomes so accommodating that in the wide grey twilight we cease to distinguish between the colours of good and evil, or even mistake the wolf for the house-dog.

With a romancer's enchanting touch the prophet sketches that extraordinary time. He conjures up the idle rich who embalm a luxurious, archaic, lawless decadence in forms ever more peculiar, in strange old Roman aberrations from the normal, in a religion of the senses, in public and permitted outrages on what was long held to be sacred. The woman of the future, born in this class or bought into it, will deserve the name invented by a quick-sighted essayist who has watched her coming, of 'a daughter of Belial.' Depravity will be magnificent and condoned. If even now the modern woman is not proud to be a mother, we may expect, in the dissolution following on that predicted collapse of the *bourgeoisie*, a 'childless, disunited, shifting *ménage*' to greet us where the old English home once overspread the land. Our engineers themselves will take wives, it would seem, from Girton or other serious institutions; but they may find in their not very attractive household a Madame Bovary, haunted by the splendours of the courtesan. If the skilled expert makes money, it is yet the kings of wealth who spend it, above all in the market where Eve's daughters are on view. Competition there will 'prevent many women from becoming mothers of a regenerating world.' The engineer's wife, too, will often use her husband's earnings in some 'pleasant discrepant manner,' which we need not too closely examine. The 'child-infested' home (what a curious expression on the lips of a moralist!) will be increasingly rare; and when husband and wife are leading separate selfish lives, how much of the sanctity of marriage will remain? Sanctity?

With an absentee God, sterile vice, unlimited divorce, motherhood dishonourable in most, and the examples of Eastern nations permeating our Empire, the less we say about sanctity in marriage the better. Liberty means variety; and if law does not broaden down, the law-breakers, eminently rich and in social contact with each other, will be a law unto themselves.

It is disquieting to observe that men so unlike in temper as Dr Petrie and Mr Wells agree in their prediction of an assault on the family life, encouraged or not put down by the Governments of the future. Dr Petrie thinks the day of 'absolute' morality is drawing to a close. He would be prepared, if we understand him aright, to set up 'island communities' where these different types of marriage and no-marriage might each prevail. 'Anticipations,' with more likelihood, pictures society as 'a vast, drifting, and unstable population grouped in almost every conceivable form.' But let this be observed; neither in a Socialist régime, nor in the decadent State which may lead up to it, is the family taken as that primal unit of order which it really was under the old law of Christendom. The individual is in both cases, from a legal point of view, what caricature has termed him; 'born a foundling, dying a bachelor,' he owes no duties to his parents, and is released from the duty of providing for his children. It is the State, not the husband, that endows maternity. Socialism now, with Professor Lester Ward, looks on to a 'matriarchate' as its future form.

What, then, in the 'New Republic,' would open acceptance of diversity in marriage signify? Not any regulation of wills and bequests as bearing on the preservation of family ties, but an approval by public opinion of connexions now reprobated. In other words, law is to take the office hitherto held by religion; but is to soothe or satisfy consciences not altogether easy in condoning lust. Yet let us hear the verdict which unexpectedly sums up Mr Wells' judgment: 'The world of the coming time will have its Homes, its real Mothers, the custodians of the human succession, and its cared-for children, the inheritors of the future, but in addition . . . there will be an enormous complex of establishments, and hotels, and sterile households, and flats, and all the

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elaborate furnishing and appliances of a luxurious extinction.'

Here is an argument for the old order, not built on airy speculation, but drawn from tendencies already illustrated by facts and figures in France, the United States, and to an increasing degree in England. It may be called the 'reduction to death' of those premisses, Malthusian or economic, by which grave teachers justify marriage without maternity, terminable unions, divorce at the good pleasure of husband or wife, such as M. Briand would have to be French law. Moreover, this edict of extinction will apply to the childless expert no less than to the wealthy decadent. What guarantee has Mr Wells that his engineers will forgo the advantages held out by fashionable morality in their young and struggling days? Why should they care about leaving children to carry on the State any more than the owner of riches or the mere voluptuary? Is there ground for ascribing to the study of natural science those virtues on which monogamy relies? It has always existed, we are told, 'on the merits of the wife,' who is eminently disinterested about science, while she recognises in religion a power that supports her claim. When that power falls, marriage will suffer from the shock. Polygamy has never been favourable to civilisation; and a liberty passing more and more into Free Love, with no desire for offspring, would end it. The practical people, Mr Wells confidently anticipates, 'will be a moral people.' Their positive science will reprobate vice. But, as 'for one morality there will be many moralities,' will not vice and virtue come to signify what we please? We suspect that Christians alone, in that weltering confusion, will preserve their homes from the Black Death raging round them. Socialism, says Mr Wells in his latest pages, is coming more and more to approve of permanent marriage; at all events, it is not against it. Monogamy would be a pious opinion; but the free mother, subsidised by the State, leaves us perplexed.

In comparison with problems like these, what may happen to language, literature, commerce, or even to democracy, is of small moment. One thing remains for ever true; we cannot improvise the man or the woman that shall be a clear improvement on actual

types. Whether Pidgin-English, or South American Spanish, or the French of good society, will be spoken in the World-Republic a hundred years hence, we need not determine. That the last great war will be won by knowledge under guidance of character; that moral decay is the prelude to national ruin; that the school and the home are the battlefields where a people undergo defeat or rise to victory; and that ideals control events in the long run—if we grant all this, what follows? It follows that we should choose the right ideals and live up to them.

The new synthesis will 'favour the procreation of what is fine and efficient and beautiful in humanity,' says Mr Wells. Exound to us then the principles on which you distinguish the better from the worse amid conflicting moralities. You commend 'modest suicide'; you allow that 'in many cases the emergent men of the new time will consider sterile gratification a moral and legitimate thing'; you would poison or otherwise painlessly eliminate the unfit; and your Ironsides will have their Inquisition, their Index, their 'electrocutors' or givers of hemlock, pretty constantly engaged until the weeding out is done. With a really magnificent trust in private judgment you write concerning monogamic marriage, 'Upon this matter I must confess my views of the trend of things in the future do not seem to be finally shaped.' 'My views'! Were a Roman Pontiff to speak in this fashion how the world would exclaim! But is it not possible that other experts in mechanism may take other views, even after yours have been laid down? All we can conclude from hesitation on such a point by so temperate a philosopher is that in the reign of the Ironsides moral anarchy will prevail. The unfit, doomed upon Darwinian motives to extinction, in a Republic where opinion is free, will not be without defenders. You must come back to dogma, with biologists for the Fathers of your Church. But under your handling science is only of the finite, whereas religion promises to man the infinite. Will you make of Christianity a friend or a foe? That is the final issue. It will not be decided by murdering the unfit in chambers of horror, nor yet by 'ampler groupings' of the dissolute who patronise the new ethics. If man is simply a passing

constitutional sociology. Miss Davenport, an American scholar, has done good service in this direction; she has taken Fornecett, a single manor in Norfolk (a district of some peculiarities), and has not merely printed the records of all kinds relating to it that her extensive search has discovered, but has made an exact historical and analytical study of all the materials, linking it on through Domesday to general history. The picture of internal economy thus displayed, with its varying advance and decline in the fortunes both of lord and tenants, is a valuable contribution towards our knowledge of manorial details during the later centuries.

The antiquarian side of manorial history is that chiefly dealt with in Mr Hone's book. He describes in a pleasing manner the daily life of the dwellers on the manor; he discusses farming work,* dietaries, rights of common, procedure of courts, and other incidents, and gives views of ancient buildings, which are necessary to fill in the picture to the mind's eye. He prints at length several accounts, 'extents,' and extracts from miscellaneous court-rolls; and adds full bibliographic lists of all such manuscript records existing in the Public Record Office, British Museum, Bodleian Library, Lambeth Palace, and other less-known places. This is perhaps the most valuable part of the volume.

The manorial system was established on grounds of mutual interest too firm not to endure for ages; it is found in formal action, more or less modified, in the middle of the sixteenth century, but by the time of James I the break-up of the system was accomplished through natural causes. The legal disabilities of the tenants had ceased or been abolished; the lord had lost his court, though the Court Leet still was continued in many places. It is even still existing as a legal relic in some manors, a shadow of its former self. Customs of various kinds, rooted in habit, long kept their force, such as the obligation to grind corn at the lord's mill, and the lord's claim upon waste; the manor with its manor-house and relics of customary rights remained, and still remain, the merely territorial estate of a private individual owner without the aid of his 'men' to administer it.

* In connexion with this, Mr Ballard's chapter on 'The Stock : Eleventh Century Farming,' notes gathered from Domesday, etc., should also be read.

Art. VII.—LORD BEACONSFIELD'S NOVELS.

1. *The Centenary Edition of Lord Beaconsfield's earlier Novels.* Edited, with biographical introduction, by Lucien Wolf. London : Moring. Vols. I-III, 1904-5.
2. *Benjamin Disraeli: an unconventional Biography.* By Wilfrid Meynell. London : Hutchinson, 1903.
3. *Disraeli: a study in Personality and Ideas.* By Walter Sickel. London : Methuen, 1904.

It is not very easy to allot to Lord Beaconsfield's novels their exact position in public estimation. They are not of the type of literature known as 'popular.' Their circulation is probably restricted to politicians, literary students, and those who have the 'Dizzy instinct.' In the judgment of a great, perhaps the greater, number of readers, these novels are nothing but Jewish splendour, literary fireworks, incomprehensible jargon. To almost all women they are sealed volumes; few have conscientiously attempted their perusal. But the faithful remain; and it is worth while to consider wherein for them lies the attraction and the power.

The latest edition appears in commemoration of the centenary of the author's birth. In 1853 Lord Beaconsfield gave his authority to an issue of his works in which much of the earlier writings was amended or expunged. Whether it is wise to republish what was then deliberately suppressed is a matter of opinion. Nobody, however, will deny that the introductory matter supplied by Mr Lucien Wolf is full of interest and information; and all that there is to know of the origin and nature of the books is now within reach of the public. That the 'Dizzy instinct' is still active may be gathered from the welcome accorded to Mr Meynell's 'unconventional biography.' The book is well named; it is less a biography than a wide ramble through the whole domain of Disraelian legend. It is a disconnected series of anecdotes and records after the manner of 'Disraeli and his Day,' by Sir William Fraser, who, by the way, receives little flattery in these pages beyond that of imitation. Sir William wrote of what he had seen and heard; Mr Meynell claims to be no more than a collector and reporter. One sometimes doubts whether his version of a familiar story is the true

one, and occasionally one is inquisitive as to his authority ; his tendency to be facetious is not wholly agreeable, nor are his comments invariably in good taste ; yet his book remains a proof, if such were needed, of the fascination which his theme exercises over the true disciples.

Mr Sichel's volume is a stronger and more brilliant piece of work. It does not aim at biography ; it is an essay on the character and ideas of Disraeli, describing, in a series of chapters, his personality and analysing his views on democracy, the Church, monarchy, the colonies, and a variety of other subjects. Mr Sichel is enthusiastic ; he is by no means without the 'imaginative quality,' to the possession of which he ascribes much of his hero's greatness ; but, if his natural sympathies and the 'noble pleasure of praising' sometimes carry him too far and lead him to forget what is to be said on the other side, we may reflect that there are plenty of people to supply this deficiency. We have no intention to review these books, which were published some time ago. We refer to them only as works which in many ways illustrate the novels, to the consideration of which we now pass.

It is not unusual to classify novels as political, romantic, historical, sporting, society. How should we describe the books which Lord Beaconsfield wrote ? To answer that question it would be convenient to know how he himself looked upon them. He once offered to give to one of his private secretaries whichever of the series he preferred. The secretary exhibited the advantage of a diplomatic training and asked for the one Lord Beaconsfield himself liked best ; and he received 'Henrietta Temple.' Now 'Henrietta Temple' is nothing but a love story—that indeed is its subtitle—devoted to the ardent passions of a young couple. We shall hear more of this presently.

'Vivian Grey' (1826-27), which the author afterwards described as a boy's book, was indeed what most boys' books are, a collection of first impressions in which autobiography undesignedly usurps the place of imagination,* inspired by an irresistible desire to tell the world what the writer thinks of life, and the dramatic manner

* 'Of course I have no intention of denying that these volumes are, in a very great degree, founded on my own observation and experience.' Letter to Jerdan, quoted by Mr Wolf, *op. cit.* ii, 365.

in which he would like to touch it up. '*Contarini Fleming*' (1832) was written with the declared object of portraying the 'development and formation of the poetic character.' '*Venetia*' (1837) is a sketch of the characters of Byron and Shelley. '*Coningsby*' (1844) and '*Sybil*' (1845) are avowedly political novels; the former, Disraeli tells us, was 'conceived and partly executed amidst the glades and galleries of Deepdene,' the rendezvous of the Young England party, of whom the last representative has lately passed away in John, Duke of Rutland, the Henry Sydney of the story.

Lord Beaconsfield says elsewhere that the 'main purpose' of '*Coningsby*' was 'to vindicate the just claims of the Tory party to be the popular confederation of the country,' and to show that 'Toryism was not a phrase but a fact.' Herein he takes occasion to elaborate his views upon his own race.

'The Jews were looked upon in the Middle Ages as an accursed race, the enemies of God and man, the especial foes of Christianity. No one in those days paused to reflect that Christianity was founded by the Jews; that its divine Author, in His human capacity, was a descendant of King David; that his doctrines avowedly were the completion, not the change, of Judaism; that the Apostles and Evangelists, whose names men daily invoked, and whose volumes they embraced with reverence, were all Jews; that the infallible throne of Rome itself was established by a Jew; and that a Jew was the founder of the Christian Churches in Asia. In vindicating the sovereign rights of the Church of Christ to be the perpetual regenerator of man, the writer thought the time had arrived when some attempt should be made to do justice to the race which had founded Christianity.'

He goes on to say that in '*Tancred*' he has developed the views first intimated in '*Coningsby*'; that no one has attempted to refute them; nor is refutation possible. Sidonia the Jew, is one of his most striking characters, and one which he evidently drew with delight.

'*Sybil*' is very much 'a novel with a purpose'—to describe the condition of the poor and to elucidate social problems. '*Lothair*', the greatest of all his books, had the Church for its principal theme; but it may be claimed primarily as the most brilliant 'society novel' in existence. '*Endymion*', the last of all, was only undertaken as an

amusement in old age, and deals with the many aspects of life which had been his constant study and interest. It will be agreed therefore that Lord Beaconsfield's fiction covered the widest range; it remains to be seen what peculiar arts he employed to adorn each topic.

It has been said that Lord John Manners was the Lord Henry Sydney of '*Coningsby*' This leads to the question, to what extent were his characters intended to represent individuals in real life? Lord Rowton used to relate how, upon the appearance of '*Endymion*', Queen Victoria sent a message requesting that she might be supplied with a key to the characters. The reply was that all Lord Beaconsfield's characters were imaginary and represented no particular persons. This ought to be conclusive; but it would be less puzzling if we allowed ourselves to assume that he professed his characters to be types, not portraits. The Lord Cadurcis of '*Venetia*' is obviously Lord Byron. In the preface the author says that in the following pages he has attempted 'to shadow forth two of the most renowned and refined spirits that have adorned these our latter days.' When his mother dies, Cadurcis exclaims, 'God has only given me one friend in this world, and there she lies'; which was, in effect, the cry of Lord Byron when his dog expired. In fact the identity is admitted. Another portrait which readers think they recognise is that of Cardinal Manning in the Cardinal Grandison of '*Lothair*', probably because the cardinal in the book is an ascetic, and in the midst of profusion makes his 'banquet of dry toast'; people knew that Cardinal Manning was extremely thin, and assumed that he was a small eater. In the preface, however, we read that the 'secession of Dr Newman dealt a blow to the Church of England under which it still reels'; so that the inspiration may be as much that of Newman as of Manning. The Duke in '*Lothair*'—so great a noble as to require no distinguishing patronymic—is, by tradition, the Duke of Abercorn, a patrician scarcely less fastidious than his progenitor, who gave instruction that the housemaids should wear kid-gloves when they handled the sheets of his bed. Mr Putney Giles was supposed to be Mr Padwick, the friend of all dukes in debt; and so on.

In '*Coningsby*', Lord Hertford as Lord Monmouth, and Mr Croker as Rigby, were represented to contempor-

aries in no more flattering spirit than was the former by Thackeray in 'Vanity Fair,' or the latter when Macaulay reviewed his 'Boswell's Life of Johnson.' As to 'Tancred,' there is a story of a noble lord who once discussed the novels with Lord Beaconsfield in a train; he said, 'I often wonder what became of Tancred after his friends found him on the Mount of Olives'; to which came the reply, 'he is sitting opposite to you at the present moment.' Myra's husband in 'Endymion' plainly suggests Napoleon III; and St Barbe is taken to be Thackeray—in the last case a spiteful form of satire which Lord Beaconsfield seldom put in use. Mr Sichel, however, suggests Hayward. Colburn, the editor of the first novels, deliberately 'puffed' them by publishing keys to the characters; but on the whole the author may be said to have confessed to nothing from the outset beyond a method of transforming types of living people into creatures of his own imagination.

To appreciate Disraeli's status as a novelist it is necessary to recollect certain facts connected with his private life. It is often alleged that the fame of his books was due to his political position. This was not so; Disraeli did not enter Parliament until 1837, by which time more than half his novels, down to and including 'Henrietta Temple,' had already appeared. 'Born in a library,' he says, 'what most attracted my musing, even as a boy, was the elements of our political parties.' In youth he travelled much and fell under that spell of the East which reveals itself again and again in his tales. His letters from abroad are invaluable; they exhibit the warmth and sincerity of his domestic affections, the perfect candour of his affectations, his sublime self-confidence, his soaring ambition. Appearance is often part of an author's stock-in-trade. How did he present himself to the world?

'I am sorry to say (he writes in 1830) my hair is coming off just at the moment it had attained the highest perfection, and was universally taken for a wig, so that I am obliged to let the women pull it to satisfy their curiosity. Somebody recommends me cocoanut-oil; but suppose it turns it grey, or blue, or green?'

He loaded himself with chains and rings and perfumes;

he is somewhere described as wearing crimson trousers adorned with gold braid, and white gloves with his rings outside. When he goes yachting at Malta his costume consists of

'a blood-red shirt, with silver studs as big as shillings, an immense scarf for girdle, full of pistols and daggers, red cap, red slippers, broad blue-striped jacket and trowsers.'

Nor is it to be supposed that all this was done without a purpose ; he was playing a game. His popularity seems to have been in exact measure with his eccentricity. He receives five invitations to dinner in the course of one promenade ; he elects to dine with the 73rd Regiment, and arrives in an Andalusian dress. 'After such buffooneries,' he writes, 'I need not add that I continue tolerably well.' Again from Malta he writes :

'To govern men you must either excel them in their accomplishments or despise them. Clay does one ; I do the other ; and we are both equally popular. Affectation tells here even better than wit. Yesterday, at the racket-court, sitting in the gallery among the strangers, the ball entered and lightly struck me, and fell at my feet. I picked it up, and observing a young rifleman excessively stiff, I humbly requested him to forward its passage into the court, as I really had never thrown a ball in my life. This incident has been the general subject of conversation at all the messes to-day.'

No wonder ! If this be not enough to silence the critics who see no humour shining through the pomp of the social pageantries of his fiction, let them follow him when he visits the Governor of Cadiz, whom he finds sitting over some prints of Algiers and of the London fashions for June.

'I ventured to inform his excellency that the group of gentlemen were personages no less eminent than the Dey of Algiers and his two principal *conseillers d'état*. He insinuated scepticism. . . . I renewed my arguments to prove the dress to be Moorish. He calls a mademoiselle to translate the inscription, but this only proves they were "fashions for June." "At Algiers," I add. He gives a look of pious resignation, and has bowed to the ground every night since that he has met me.'

After these and divers other adventures he returns to London, where he dines with Lady Blessington and

becomes D'Orsay's intimate friend. He hunts, 'riding an Arabian mare, which I nearly killed'—a prospect which one would have expected to find reversed. 'I live solely on snipes, and ride a great deal.' He dines with the Lord Chancellor and meets 'young Gladstone. . . . Rather dull; but we had a swan, very white and tender and stuffed with truffles. The best company there.'

About this time he produced his 'Revolutionary Epick.' Somebody has described him, with his pale face, raven curls, and glittering raiment, reading his work to a chosen audience in a lady's drawing-room; but neither his enthusiasm nor his curls could redeem the poem from admitted failure. In spite of his obvious self-reliance he now, for reasons of his own, published 'Contarini Fleming' (1832) anonymously. Its appearance made no immediate mark; but Goethe and Beckford presently sent their unsolicited opinions to the mysterious author; and Heine wrote a criticism of which the recipient declared 'any writer might be justly proud.'

That he was not losing confidence is, indeed, manifest. In 1833 he attended a debate in the House of Commons.

'Macaulay admirable (runs his comment); but, between ourselves, I could floor them all. . . . I was never more confident of anything than that I could carry everything before me in that House.'

He entered Parliament, not as a young and unknown apprentice, but as a literary and social celebrity; not living in the centre of society—that was to come with his subsequent conquests—but so far intimate with important personages as to be the companion of Lord Lyndhurst when the ex-Chancellor hastened to pay his respects to his new sovereign—an episode which is turned to memorable use in 'Sybil.'

This excursion has been made in order to localise Disraeli's position in literature and society before he broke ground in Parliament. It cannot be said of him, as Mr Morley has said of Addison, that he rose or fell from the ranks of literature to those of politics, because it seems to have been inevitable that he should embrace both professions; but he brought his literary reputation into politics as did Mr Morley in another degree. His subsequent writings were only assisted by the interest

attaching to any work coming from the pen of a Minister of State or any other prominent politician.

Let us now turn to the books and consider them *seriatim*. '*Vivian Grey*' was the first inevitable explosion of a highly-charged intellect. Disraeli was a youth of twenty. At his father's house he had met and conversed with men distinguished in literature and concerned with public affairs; with Rogers, with John Murray, with Crofton Croker. He was not ignorant of the world; his knowledge of life was perhaps precocious. At this period of his career he was intended for a legal profession; and for three years he had been a reluctant and yet a diligent apprentice in a solicitor's office. But *Vivian Grey*'s views upon a lawyer's prospects are sufficiently suggestive.

'The bar (he says), pooh! Law and bad jokes till we are forty, and then, with the most brilliant success, the prospects of gout and a coronet. Besides, to succeed as an advocate I must be a great lawyer; and to be a great lawyer I must give up my chances of being a great man.'

To be a great man he was determined; and that speedily. What was his immediate ambition is not obvious. A snob in the ordinary sense he never was. He revered the aristocracy as an institution; and, as his writings prove, he believed in its immense power in the State. He sought the society of the great because they represented action and government, and therefore power. He had the oriental love of colour and sumptuous living. Later in life he moved in the stateliest society of England; but he never ranked its members with children of his own race. Literary success undoubtedly attracted him, witness his appreciation of Byron's fame in '*Venetia*'. To make life vivid; to be 'in the movement'; this was his desire; but if, at the outset, he plunged into peerages and palaces, it was in search of interest, not by reason of vulgar social aspiration.

Vivian Grey is young Disraeli as surely as Mr Grey is Isaac Disraeli. In the course of the story, Vivian has an amazing midnight encounter with a married lady in one of the corridors of Lord Carabas' castle. She is passionately in love with him, and complains that he is in love with nobody but himself; 'and truly,' she goes on, 'when I do gaze upon your radiant eyes; and truly when I do

look upon your luxuriant curls'—and here the lady's small white hand played like lightning through Vivian's dark hair; 'and truly when I do remember the beauty of your all-perfect form, I do not deem your self-worship is false idolatry'—which is indicative of the kind of rôle for which the young man felt an inclination. The first part of the book is social and political. Vivian Grey has been to school—and here Disraeli's school experiences are faithfully recorded—and he is now craving for a career. He meets the Marquis of Carabas at his father's house and seizes his opportunity. He starts with the odd comment that the reader will perhaps be astonished that such a man as his lordship should be the guest of such a man as our hero's father; which is a little hard on Isaac Disraeli. Lord Carabas was a great peer and a Cabinet Minister; and Vivian does not let him escape. He concludes a brilliant and ingratiating display by recommending to the fascinated noble a recipe for tomahawk punch. Next morning he calls to deliver it, having invented something appropriate: 'to every bottle of still champagne, one pint of curaçoa.' The peer's eyes glistened, we are told; and Vivian's conquest was assured. The second and third parts have no connexion with the first. Plot was immaterial; the author's object was to air his opinions and illustrate them; but, with all its defects, the book was at once recognised as something outside the common order. 'To enter high society,' so runs one of his *obiter dicta*, 'a man must have either blood, millions, or a genius'; he clearly relied upon the last.

'The Young Duke' was published in 1829, when Disraeli was twenty-five years old. In the preface, written a quarter of a century later, he observes that 'young authors are apt to fall into affectation and conceit, and the writer of this work sinned very much in this respect.' He does not appear to have attached much importance to the book, nor is it generally regarded with great esteem; yet it is of considerable interest. It lacks the intimacy with the world and the matured power which distinguish 'Lothair'; but in these pages the boy is father to the man. There is, of course, much ornateness and exaggeration. The young duke's profusion is magnificent; he must have an 'ample allowance for the extraordinary necessities of life.' He gives a supper-

party: 'Let me die eating ortolans to the sound of slow music,' exclaims the author, enamoured of his own creation. Meanwhile, Disraeli had formed decided views upon women who are 'energetic without elegance, active without grace, and loquacious without wit; mistaking raillery for badinage and noise for gaiety'; and he was of opinion that 'there is nothing more lovely than the love of two beautiful women'—a human relation of which the existence has since been pronounced impossible by Herr Nordau and Mr W. H. Mallock. And he sums up another character as 'proud as a peer with a new title or a baronet with an old one.' Upon the House of Lords he makes two comments: one, that 'the Lords do not encourage wit and so are obliged to put up with pertness'; the other, that 'a man may speak very well in the House of Commons and fail very completely in the House of Lords. There are two distinct styles requisite; and I intend in the course of my career, if I have time, to give a specimen of both. In the Lower House, "*Don Juan*" may perhaps be our model; in the Upper House, "*Paradise Lost*"—a bold undertaking gallantly fulfilled. Whatever may be the value of the book, then, it cannot be condemned as commonplace.'

The novels which occupied the succeeding years, '*Contarini Fleming*' (1832) and '*Alroy*' (1833), are mainly the outcome of his Eastern experiences and his absorbing reflections and aspirations. We pass on to '*Henrietta Temple*' (1837). Here we have the customary gambling scene, duel, and arrest for debt, with plenty of worldly wisdom. 'I have spent a fortune,' says Lord Castlefyshe, when he hears of some great deed of philanthropy; 'but, thank Heaven, it was on myself.' But it is the love element which prevails. 'There is no love but love at first sight,' exclaims the author; 'that passion, compared to whose delights all the other gratifications of our nature, wealth and power and fame, sink into insignificance.' Henrietta's garden and her passion for flowers; the simple frugal farmstead where the hero lives in hiding to be near her—these are painted with a loving hand which shows that, if he revelled in gorgeous palaces, he was not incapable of appreciating the quietness and beauty of a sequestered life.

'*Venetia*', which also appeared in 1837, is essentially

a sad tale. Amongst the mournful reflections scattered about is this, that 'want of money or want of love lies at the bottom of all our griefs.' And there is the startling outburst of bitterness which follows the account of the death of the mother of Cadurcis :

' . . . that mournful truth that after all we have no friends that we can depend upon in this life but our parents. . . . As for women . . . who has not learnt that the bosom on which we have reposed with idolatry all our secret sorrows and sanguine hopes, eventually becomes the very heart which exults in our misery and baffles our welfare? . . . Where are the choice companions of our youth? . . . Even in this inconstant life, nothing changes like the heart. Love is a dream and friendship a delusion.'

Lord Beaconsfield was not without his sombre moments.

So much for the earlier novels. Now come those five which the public knows best, or ignores least—'Coningsby' (1844), 'Sybil' (1845), 'Tancred' (1847), 'Lothair' (1870), and 'Endymion,' which appeared in the short interval between his political defeat and his death. Lord Beaconsfield dedicated 'Lothair' to the Duke of Aumale, and in doing so he wrote a preface which is worth reading, even for those who dislike his tales. In explaining much that is of personal and historic interest, he relates the origin of his trilogy, 'Coningsby,' 'Sybil,' and 'Tancred.' In the days when he was closely allied with the Young England party—and he specially names George Smythe (Lord Strangford) and Henry Hope, of Deepdene—he was urged to put into literary form the views upon religious, social, and political affairs which it was their purpose to propagate.

The inspiration of his work was the aristocracy of England. His theory was that the natural rulers were the aristocracy, supported by the people. It is a confusion of ideas, however, to suppose that he had a slavish admiration for British rank. 'Ancient lineage!' exclaims Mr Millbank. 'I never heard of a peer with an ancient lineage . . . the thirty years' Wars of the Roses freed us from these gentlemen.' Disraeli himself, with or without justice, was intensely proud of his Castilian pedigree; he once informed an audience that his own descent was equal to that of a Cavendish. Upon another occasion

he dismissed the pretensions to ancestry on the part of some peer with a curt 'Who is he? My ancestors conversed with the Queen of Sheba.' And he was no uncompromising defender of the order. He does not spare Lord Monmouth or Lord Marney. He never screened a sham nor palliated cant. 'Cant,' he says in '*The Young Duke*,' is nothing more than the sophistry which results from attempting to account for what is unintelligible or to defend what is improper.' With what is known as the middle class, Disraeli never greatly concerned himself; his talk is always of the peerage or the poor. So early as in '*Vivian Grey*' comes a reference to 'the son of toil, who, turning in his bed at night, curses his lord and his lot and goes to sleep again.' We have a wholly irrelevant scene in a distressed peasant's cottage dragged into Vivian's early intrigue. In his parliamentary speeches Disraeli has described the condition of the people in language which might be attributed as a reproach to a revolutionary demagogue. And in '*Sybil*' he pictures the condition of the poor with a force and unsparing realism which is not behind '*Les Misérables*,' or '*Alton Locke*,' or a Blue-book on sweating.

'*Coningsby*' supplies us with Disraeli's theory of the State. The most remarkable character in the book is Sidonia, a Jew, the prince of financiers, a social power, and the shrewd observer of all affairs human and divine. Mr Meynell makes the ingenious observation that the first three letters of Sidonia's name are those of Disraeli reversed. We meet him first taking refuge from a thunderstorm in a forest inn. The approach of the tempest is heralded by the agitation of all animate creation. 'Suddenly the brooding wildfowl rose from the bosom of the lake, soared in the air, and uttering mournful shrieks, whirled in agitated tumult.' In plainer language, some ducks rose noisily from a pond. Coningsby is already at the inn and invites the stranger to share his meal. "'Tis but simple fare," he said, as the maiden uncovered the still hissing bacon and eggs, that looked like tufts of primroses.' This is the first allusion to Lord Beaconsfield's sacred flower; the only other to be found is when Lord St Jerome, in '*Lothair*', declares that 'primroses make a capital salad'—neither of them very romantic suggestions.

The author's views upon the Reform Bill of 1832 are set forth at length. He clearly held that the provisions of the measure went too far and too fast.

'The truth is (he says), the peers were in a fright. 'Twas a pity ; there is scarcely a less dignified entity than a patrician in a panic. . . . An emboldened House of Commons passed a vote which struck without disguise at the rival power in the State—virtually announced its supremacy—revealed the forlorn position of the House of Lords, and seemed to lay for ever the fluttering phantom of regal prerogative. . . .

"Who are the people? (he demands), and where are you to draw the line? And why should there be any? It was urged that a contribution to the taxes was the constitutional qualification for the suffrage. But we have established a system of taxation in this country of so remarkable a nature that the beggar who chews his quid as he sweeps a crossing is contributing to the imposts."

A Third Estate is his ideal, enlarged and reconstructed ; then 'another class would have been added to the public estates of the realm ; and the bewildering phrase, "the people," would have remained what it really is, a term of natural philosophy, and not of political science.' But Mr Rigby had been writing his 'slashing' articles with such continuous emphasis on the teachings of the French Revolution that 'people at last, whenever he made any allusion to the subject, were almost as much terrified as if they had seen the guillotine.'

'Now tell me, Coningsby (says Millbank), exactly what you conceive to be the state of parties in this country.' Off goes Coningsby at score, and we have the pure milk of Young Englandism in a copious stream. The upshot of it all is

'the idea of a free monarchy, established on fundamental laws, itself the apex of a vast pile of municipal and local government, ruling an educated people, represented by a free and intellectual press.'

Such, in slender outline, is the course of his disquisition. Incidentally there occur some instructive comments on parliamentary life and conduct. 'The greatest of all evils (he says) is a weak Government. They cannot

carry good measures ; they are forced to carry bad ones.' Of the professional politician he says :

'1200*l.* per annum, paid quarterly, is their idea of political science and human nature. To receive 1200*l.* per annum is government; to try to receive 1200*l.* is opposition; to wish to receive 1200*l.* is ambition. If a man wants to get into Parliament, and does not want to get 1200*l.* per annum . . . they stare in each other's face and ask, "What can he want to get into Parliament for?"'

By the mouth of Lord Monmouth he declares, 'a man should be in Parliament early. There is a sort of stiffness about every man, no matter what may be his talents, who enters Parliament late in life.' When Coningsby confesses that his political views do not coincide with his grandfather's expectations, the old gentleman replies, 'I tell you what it is, Harry, members of this family may think as they like, but they must act as I please.' There is the usual complement of keen criticisms of life. Mrs Guy Flouncey, having succeeded in forcing her way into society, is greeted by the great ladies with 'the fatal question, who is she?' He points out how conversation is ruined by jealousy. Men are dull because they are anxious about their own success and fearful of hearing other men applauded. Authors, especially poets, are the worst; 'and, as for a rising politician, a clever speech by a rival destroys his appetite and disturbs his slumbers.' These volumes afford many proofs of Disraeli's faith in the influence of good women. In 'Coningsby,' he says : 'There is no mortification however keen, no misery however desperate, which the spirit of woman cannot in some degree lighten or alleviate.'

The subtitle of 'Sybil' is 'The Two Nations'—the rich and the poor. Disraeli here exhibits no blind adulation of the social system of which many people suppose him to have been the abject admirer.

'There are two nations (he says), between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by

the same laws. I mean the Rich and Poor. Between the poor man and the rich there never was any connexion, and that is the vital mischief of this country.'

He describes the richness and charm of the scene, then exclaims, 'Beautiful illusion! For behind that laughing landscape penury and disease fed upon the vitals of a miserable population.' Then follows a treatise which shows that the housing problem is neither new nor wholly urban. With Sybil, 'to be one of the people was to be miserable and innocent; one of the privileged, a luxurious tyrant.' When Stephen Morley observes that God will help those who help themselves, she at once replies that those only can help themselves whom God helps. Lord Marney is the heartless and grinding landlord who allows the village to produce such a hopeless breed as the boy Devilsdust—another Gavroche. Landlordism is, indeed, redeemed to some extent by the character of Charles Egremont; and it is admitted that to be large-acred is a natural aspiration. The conclusion of the matter is that salvation is only to be found in 'the energy and devotion of our youth . . . the youth of a nation are trustees of posterity.' There is plenty of dandyism and fine living interspersed. 'I rather like bad wine,' says Mr Mountchesney; 'one gets so bored with good wine.' Tobacco is condemned as the 'tomb of love'; jam is appreciated as 'fruit conserved with curious art.' Somebody is 'over-educated for his intellect . . . a common misfortune'; somebody else suffers from 'the ignoble melancholy which, relieved by no pensive fancy, is the attendant of pecuniary embarrassment.' Life at Oxford is 'a miserable mimicry of metropolitan dissipation.'

In 'Tancred,' or 'the New Crusade,' the plot is immaterial. Here we have a religious atmosphere. The son of a great duke steals away to develope his aspirations and satisfy his searchings of heart in the land of his Saviour. Early in the story we find ourselves at dinner. The duke and Lord Eskdale arrive late.

'The duke was excited; even Lord Eskdale looked as if something had happened. Something had happened; there had been a division. . . . Divisions in the House of Lords are so thinly scattered that, when one occurs, the peers cackle as if they had laid an egg.'

To this existence Tancred was born; the public is anxious to learn from the newspapers 'where he eats, drinks, dances, and sometimes prays.' But Tancred prefers musings and adventures and love affairs in Palestine, whence he is only retrieved by the duke and duchess in person. The more one studies Disraeli's novels the more one feels that it was in this direction rather than towards the political novel that his inclinations led him.

'Lothair' is the most remarkable of the whole series, among the most remarkable products of English fiction. It has been the object of diverse criticism. A lady has been heard to express the conviction that Lord Beaconsfield employed his footman to write it. It has been satirised by Mark Twain, who could see in it only the tawdry pretensions of the Houndsditch Jew. Thackeray had already caricatured Disraeli's style after the appearance of 'Coningsby.' On the other hand, Froude, in his monograph, devotes an entire chapter to 'Lothair,' every page of which, he says, glitters with wit and shines with humour. Of course the author aims at effect by exaggeration and over-colouring; his peers are superlatively rich and great, his women supremely beautiful and gifted, his society pre-eminently cultivated and refined, his standard of life dazzling in its prodigality. Lothair's rank is never stated; we are left to suppose that it is second only to that of the duke, whose one trouble is that he possesses so many palaces that he cannot keep a permanent home anywhere. So vast is the young man's wealth that we find him in doubt whether to build a cathedral or finance a revolution. St Aldegonde, heir to another dukedom, is the model of simplicity; he dines with Mr Pinto, who has prepared an Olympian banquet, and will be content with nothing but cold meat, which is not forthcoming. He likes Colonel Campion because he understands the only two things which interest him, horses and tobacco. Mr Phœbus, the artist, when he goes yachting, carries a case of precious stones for current expenses; 'bank-notes, so cold and thin, give me an ague.' Hugo Bohun, who cultivates the great world, is always 'on the side of the duchesses' in matters of opinion. Mr Pinto, who always has an object, will not waste his time in company which has 'fallen into its anecdote.' The main interest of the book, however,

hangs round the attempt to entice Lothair into the Church of Rome.

It is difficult to recall a scene in fiction more brilliant, more dramatic, or more amusing, than the coming-of-age ceremonies at Muriel Towers. All the highest in the land are to be there; the pageants are to be unsurpassed. St Aldegonde jibbs at the prospect; he is afraid of being bored, and wants to know why Lothair cannot build a wing to the hospital and spare them fireworks and speeches. He lives in constant dread of boredom: 'I am not bored now, but I expect to be.' When the party are assembled at breakfast on Sunday, all alive to the solemnity of the occasion and in determined mood, he lounges into the room arrayed in a shooting garment, with 'a pink shirt and no cravat.' The bishop is conversing earnestly with some ladies by the fire, when the newcomer lifts up his voice and exclaims, 'How I hate Sunday.' There is a general shudder; the bishop leaves the room. Lady St Aldegonde remonstrates; but he will only retract so far as to admit that he does not dislike it in London, or when he is alone; but he sticks to it that Sunday in a country-house is infernal. Subsequently he requests her to convey to the bishop an assurance that he did not intend disrespect to him personally: 'I think him an agreeable man; not at all a bore.'

There is in this apparent frivolity a great deal of grave intention. We are shown the want of purpose in the life of an excellent and amiable man who might have been a valuable member of the Young England party, and who finds no object beyond the avoidance of boredom. We have the social aspirations of Mr Pinto and Mrs Putney Giles. We have a rather formidable attack on the methods of the Roman Catholics in trying to secure a desirable recruit. Withal we have a picture of English society, in its highest ranks, by one whose searching eye had penetrated every ramification, painted in heroic proportions and with colours which were his peculiar gift. There are many characteristic touches; 'personages of high consideration' are the exalted individuals with whom he deals. 'We ought to go into the country with the first note of the nightingale and return with the first note of the muffin bell,' is his theory of habitation. In the 'tournament of doves,' the Duke of

Brecon wounds a bird which falls inside the ground; a dog runs in, but 'the blue rock which was content to die by the hand of a duke would not deign to be worried by a dog,' and with a final struggle crosses the boundary and expires. This is a fair specimen of what some regard as bombastic funkeydom, others as subtle travesty.

Lothair dubs a hansom-cab 'the gondola of London,' and discovers 'that life is not so simple an affair as I once supposed.' Perhaps the best known utterance is that of Mr Phoebus when he is preparing to exhibit his picture: 'The critics are the men who have failed in literature and art.' Whether this and other phrases are borrowed from antiquity we need not wait to decide; Lord Beaconsfield at all events has successfully appropriated them. 'The blunders of youth are preferable to the triumphs of manhood and the successes of old age'; this is Lord Beaconsfield in his more indulgent mood. And here we have him back again in criticism on social foibles: 'A visit to a country-house is a series of meals mitigated by the dresses of the ladies.' Carlyle used to clamour for a true book. He hated Disraeli as a Jew conjurer and a quack; but there is more truth than quackery in 'Lothair.' The pill may be extravagantly gilded, but it is compounded by a practitioner who perfectly understands its ingredients and the symptoms which he has had to diagnose. If any one could produce such a book to-day, he need not be Prime Minister to secure attention.

'Endymion' was the child of his old age, and was not free from the lack of vitality common enough in such cases. Lord Rowton used to declare that his chief said to him one day, 'I am going to ask of you the greatest favour that one man can ask of another; I want you to read the manuscript of my new novel and tell me what you think of it.' He was too discreet to tell us what his verdict was; that of the public was not enthusiastic. The author received 10,000*l.* from his publishers, and it is stated that he offered to refund a part; a chivalrous offer declined with equal chivalry, on the ground that if it had been a great success they would not have paid him more. It is a habit of old age to revive early memories, and in the retirement of Mr Ferrars into seclusion we have the early migration of the Disraeli family from London to

Bradenham. The idea had already been presented in the case of Mr Cleveland in '*Vivian Grey*'; it appears to have been a contingency in human existence which from the first appealed to Lord Beaconsfield's romantic and sensitive spirit. As though he had never quite satisfied his conception of power, he makes his hero become Prime Minister of England, and the sister the wife of an exiled prince, who places her on his recovered throne. Endymion owes his triumph principally to his guide and friend, the widow of Lord Montfort, whom he marries. Coningsby and Egremont owed much to their wives, even as Disraeli himself owed much to the 'perfect wife' of whom he speaks in his dedication of '*Sybil*'. 'Affections of the heart are property,' he says in this tale; 'and the sympathy of the right person is often worth a good estate.'

The book is not without flashes of fun and of cynicism. Mrs Ferrars, who was ambitious, 'persisted in her dreams of riding upon elephants'; but her husband 'found refuge in suicide, as many do, from want of imagination.' 'Turtle makes all men equal,' exclaims Mr Neuchatel, when he entertains a distinguished party; but the author's culinary instinct must have been failing him when he describes Mr Rodney's supper as consisting of 'a lobster and a roasted potato, and that kind of easy thing.' He leaves a few of his formed opinions of life: 'Everybody can do exactly what they like in this world, provided they really like it.' And again: 'The English are the most enthusiastic people in the world. There are other populations which are more excitable; but there is no nation, when it feels, where the sentiment is so profound and irresistible.'

In this story there is a note of pathos which is rare. In the parting of Endymion and Myra there is a quiet sadness very different from the heroic grief of Henrietta Temple and her lover, and not easily to be found elsewhere in his pages. He touches the heart, as all masters of fiction should be able to touch it when they choose; as Dickens does, when he is not carried away by his own sentimentalism, as in '*Dombey and Son*'; as Kingsley does, for instance, in '*Two Years Ago*'. Disraeli never succeeded as a poet—perhaps he never 'really liked it'—although he wrote many fine lines. He ad-

mired ardently and sincerely; he had acute human sympathies; he had the temperament and imagination of a poet; and yet he failed to convey a certain quality of tenderness which all good critics have agreed in demanding from all good books. Even Lothair's idolatry of Theodora is stagey; the anguish of Cadurcis by his mother's deathbed is almost a pose.

A few points remain to be considered. Are Lord Beaconsfield's novels interesting? This is the first question to be asked concerning any book or series of books. He was not a great story-teller; his plots were neither ingenious nor profound; he sometimes used twice the same idea as a peg on which to hang his narrative, as in '*The Young Duke*' and '*Henrietta Temple*'. But, if the observations of an intellect of peculiar wit and originality are interesting, then the novels must satisfy this requirement.

Why did he write them? Lord Beaconsfield was conscious of a mission to mankind, and he spake unto them in parables. Mr Meynell records an unplaced and undated utterance: 'When I want to read a novel I write one.' If he was born in a library, it was also with a pen in his hand. Mr Wolf relates in detail the genesis of '*Vivian Grey*' and '*The Young Duke*'. Disraeli's ambitious project for founding a journal with John Murray had collapsed ignominiously; he was liable for part of the costs; and for the moment his spirit was broken. Introduced to Colburn by Mrs Austen, a means of repairing his fortunes was opened to him. It was stipulated by the publisher, who knew his market, that the writing was to be all about grand people, with his own sly addition of a key, as we have seen. This may be so. But, in the first place, Disraeli had already begun to scribble; furthermore, it is hardly to be doubted that the man who in later years wrote '*Lothair*' and '*Endymion*' would, in his youth, have hankered after gorgeous material. In writing his novels Disraeli followed a natural bent of mind.

What of his place in literature? Disraeli stimulated contemporary thought, but he founded no school. Mr Meynell traces an influence through his father to Voltaire and Plato; Mr Sichel perceives inspiration from the Bible;

Bolingbroke, and Byron. Of these the most plausible suggestion is that of Bolingbroke. But no influence need be looked for ; the style is *sui generis* ; nobody has successfully reproduced it. Nearest akin, perhaps, is that of his friend Bulwer, whom he 'reckoned' as among the two or three persons whose minds influenced the development of my own,' and whom he once described as 'sumptuous and fantastic,' epithets not inappropriate to his own productions. In the original edition of 'The Young Duke' he professes admiration for the superior wit of 'Pelham' ; 'the author is one of the few rising writers to whom we may look up for the maintenance of the honour of English literature.' But Disraeli's style is his own. It is not faultless English. He habitually uses the 'and who,' abhorred of critics ; although, if this be sin, he sins in company with Scott, Lamb, Thackeray, Ruskin, Lecky, R. L. Stevenson, and many more. He has many a clumsy sentence ; for example, 'This is the hour when characters are never more finely drawn.' But enough has been said to illustrate his style. He was, at least, a consummate maker of phrases.

Will his books endure? It is vain to prophesy. To repeat what was said at the outset, his audience must always be limited ; and, inasmuch as he deals mainly with passing events and conditions, he will appeal even less to a later generation intent upon altered circumstances. It must not be forgotten, however, that he was actuated throughout by profound belief in the potency of religion as a factor in all human developments ; and this is no fleeting speculation. No doubt his political novels will always be standard authorities upon the condition of England in his day. 'Coningsby,' says Mr Sichel, 'is the best political novel in any language.' 'Lothair,' for reasons already intimated, ought to prove immortal ; and indeed it is difficult to believe that his summaries of life, as he beheld it, and his gathered convictions, as through the medium of fiction he expounded them, will ever be left in complete oblivion. If he was not herein an inspired guide to the human race, at least he was one of its greatest showmen.

REGINALD LUCAS.

Art. VIII.—MAGIC AND RELIGION.

1. *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula.* By W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden. Two vols. London : Macmillan, 1906.
2. *Malay Beliefs.* By R. J. Wilkinson. London : Luzac, 1906.
3. *Malay Magic.* By W. W. Skeat. With a preface by C. O. Blagden. London : Macmillan, 1900.
4. *The Todas.* By W. H. Rivers. London : Macmillan, 1906.
5. *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India.* By Edgar Thurston. Madras : Government Press, 1906.
6. *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind : or Notes on the Kingly Office in West Africa.* By R. E. Dennett. London : Macmillan, 1906.
7. *The Khasis.* By Major P. R. T. Gurdon. London : Nutt, 1907.
8. *The Secret of the Totem.* By Andrew Lang. London : Macmillan, 1905.

THE science of man is both old and new. The counsel to 'know thyself' assumes an enquiry into the nature of things which was born of the Greek spirit, and which brought anthropology—the word is his coinage—within the broad sweep of Aristotle. 'He has (says Montaigne) an oare in every water, and medleth with all things.' But it is from Lucretius that the prehistoric archaeologist of to-day may claim descent 'after the spirit.' The fifth book of 'De Rerum Natura' gives in sonorous outline what modern research confirms in prosaic detail.

'Man's first arms were hands, nails and teeth and stones, and boughs broken off from the forests, and flame and fire, as soon as they had become known. Afterwards the force of iron and copper was discovered ; and the use of copper was known before that of iron, as its nature is easier to work. With copper they would labour the soil of the earth and stir up the billows of war. Then by slow steps the sword of iron gained ground, and the make of the copper sickle became a byword, and with iron they began to plough through the earth's soil, and the struggles of wavering man were rendered equal' (ll. 1280–1295).

Such insight as this betokens was the possession of a poet-seer untrammelled by conventional notions ; but

the populace was blinded by belief in the fables of descent from Trojan gods and heroes which, woven by Ennius into his epic, fostered the Roman pride of birth; and in no department of knowledge so much as in that appertaining to man was the arrest of enquiry effective. For, with the supersession of paganism by Christianity, there came positive teaching with regard to human nature and destiny which made speculation as superfluous as it was deemed impious.

Until Kant treated anthropology as a branch of philosophy, it was restricted to human anatomy and physiology. But even these, as subjects of investigation, long remained under the ban of the Church. At the end of the thirteenth century Boniface VIII issued a Bull forbidding the dissection of bodies on pain of the major excommunication. In his 'De Corporis Humani Fabrica,' published in 1543, Vesalius demolished the tenacious fiction that man has one rib less than woman; but the real gravamen of the book was its implicit rejection of the current belief in an indestructible bone-germ of the resurrection body, corresponding to the *os sacrum* of the Jews. The strength of tradition, even when free handling of sacred documents became possible, is shown in the conclusion forced upon David Hartley, who, in his 'Observations on Man,' published in 1749, said that, in view of the shortness of time which had elapsed between the Deluge and the ages of civilisation, the origin of language and of the art of writing must be ascribed to miraculous agency.

Barely fifty years ago theologian and biologist were at one in hesitating to extend to the study of man's life-history the methods of enquiry which have revolutionised knowledge in every other branch of research. Such extension involved the surrender of convictions as to his exceptional place in nature, and the inclusion of his psychical as well as his physical development in the processes of evolution which, if they operate anywhere, operate everywhere. On the last page of the 'Origin of Species,' Darwin, with purposeful brevity, hinted that the theory of natural selection would 'throw light on the origin of man and his history.' In the 'Descent of Man,' published in 1871, he explained that his reticence in 1859 was due to a desire 'not to add to the prejudice

against his views.' The intervening twelve years had brought a change of attitude, largely due to Huxley, who, heedless of the advice of a very shrewd friend 'not to ruin all his prospects by so rash a venture,' pushed the theory of organic evolution to its logical issue in his lectures on 'Man's Place in Nature,' published in 1863. In the same year there appeared Sir Charles Lyell's 'Antiquity of Man,' the uncertain note in which evoked a rebuke from Darwin on the author's timidity, and the regret that he 'had not spoken out on species, still less on man.' With deeper regret Darwin found himself in fundamental disagreement with Dr A. R. Wallace, formulator of the theory of natural selection, who refers to supernatural causes the origin of man's intellectual and spiritual nature. Some years were to elapse before the British Association for the Advancement of Science accorded anthropology a section to itself.

All this sounds strange to modern ears, especially when the achievements of science in that *annus mirabilis*, 1859, are reviewed. The blow then given to the anthropocentric theory by Darwin and Wallace was followed by the demolition of what remained of the geocentric theory by Kirchhoff and Bunsen's spectroscopic researches, which established the physical unity of the cosmos, while 'light was thrown on man's history' from sources other than Darwin had in mind when he penned his cautious sentence.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century there were found in a gravel deposit 'opposite to Black Mary's near Grayes Inn Lane' some bones of an elephant and a rudely-chipped flint. This relic, which held the unsuspected secret of the presence of man in the Thames valley at a remote geological period, lay unheeded for more than a century and a half in the Sloane collection. Antiquaries classified it with similar objects found elsewhere and universally named 'thunderstones,' while the bones were cited as witnesses to the universality of the Deluge. Jussieu, Buffon, Frere, and others, had suggested that the 'thunderstones' were of human handiwork; but prejudice was too strong for them. It was not until 1859 that anthropologists dismissed their doubts as to the artificial shaping of flints which had been discovered in

the Somme valley and other ancient river beds from 1841 onwards, and accepted these roughly-worked tools and weapons as evidence of man's enormous antiquity and primitive savagery. Since then the heaping of similar materials from both vanished and living races in support of these momentous conclusions has resembled that of Pelion on Ossa; and the wide gap between the proto-human and the historic periods has been filled by the Palaeolithic (probably preceded by an Eolithic) and Neolithic ages.

In dealing with the discoveries of astronomers and geologists, the ingenuity which assumed a plastic interpretation of sacred writings effected a readjustment of man's attitude towards his surroundings without conscious disturbance of his faith. But the orthodox disputants of forty years ago argued that submission to the demands of evolution as an all-embracing theory degraded man to the level of the beasts that perish, dethroned him from an eminence only 'a little lower than the angels,' and imperilled the foundations upon which religion, morality, and society are built. Hence a time of '*Sturm und Drang*', of which the present generation hears only with indifference. None of those gloomy prophecies has been fulfilled. The position for which our fathers fought was of man's upraising, and therefore carried within itself the frailty of all human work. Nothing which is of abiding consequence has been touched; and what were strenuously defended as fundamentals are seen to be non-essential. Science, explaining many things deemed inexplicable, and therefore long tabooed against enquiry, has made clearer the boundaries which man cannot pass; the measureless spaces wherein wonder and imagination will have play.

Complementing the discovery of the stone implements which, in their passage from the unpolished celt to the exquisitely-shaped arrowheads—the 'elf-darts' of folklore—bear witness to advance in human skill, there is the ever-growing accumulation of material for knowledge of the beliefs, customs, and social institutions of the lower races. The importance of the extension of the comparative method to the interpretation of this material cannot be overestimated; for, the psychical unity of

man being established, it is obvious that the nearer we can get to the mental standpoint of the savage the nearer are we to identities which have become blurred or obscured by differences arising among the superior races in their course along varying lines of development, and the more easily shall we be able to trace the origin of the higher in the lower psychology and the persistent survival of primitive ideas. In his mental as in his bodily structure, man preserves traces of the stages through which he has passed. Hence the value of myth and custom, of rite and legend. As Mr Blagden remarks,

'The folklore of uncivilised races may fairly enough be said to embrace every phase of nature and every department of life; it may be regarded as containing in the germ, and as yet undifferentiated, the notions from which religion, law, medicine, philosophy, natural science, and social customs are eventually evolved.' (Preface to 'Malay Magic,' p. xi.)

In brief, folklore may be defined as the psychical side of anthropology. Hence the seriousness of a study popularly associated with pursuit of the frivolous; hence the extraction of elements of value from what was regarded as the outcome of only idle, recreative moods; hence, too, the necessity of recording, while it is yet day, what is doomed to perish. The astronomer, the geologist, and the biologist, can possess their souls in patience as they labour. For the stars remain in their courses; the earth may distort, but not destroy, the history of changes in its crust; and the life-forms preserve, more or less blurred, the story of their development. But the anthropologist must be alert to seize upon materials which, through the intrusion of the white races among barbaric peoples, are rapidly losing their essential features, or are vanishing altogether.

Happily, science has never left itself without witnesses; and the love of travel, permeated by the romantic spirit, has secured a succession of narratives which, during recent years, have so increased in number and value that the task of sifting and comparing their contents is beyond the power of any individual. Apart from those whom thirst after adventure carries into unexplored fields, there is a growing proportion of officials who, with a zeal 'according to knowledge,' collect and record the beliefs, customs, and

myths of the races among whom they sojourn. Unfortunately, the material thus preserved is in danger of escaping observation when buried in Reports and Blue-books. An example of this risk occurs in the 'Census of India' (1901), which prosaic title covers a valuable section on the animistic or, more correctly, the impersonal stage of religion among the jungle-dwellers in Chota Nagpur. Therein Sir Herbert Risley describes the sacred groves, 'abodes of indeterminate things who are represented by no symbols, and of whose form and function, since they have not yet been clothed with individual attributes, no one can give an intelligible account.' The significance of this will appear further on.

Tardily, but not too late to preserve much, the Government of India has authorised the publication of a series of monographs on the more primitive tribes and castes of the presidencies and provinces. Two admirable instalments have appeared within the last few months, one by Mr Edgar Thurston on Southern India, and the other by Major Gurdon on the Khasis, a hill-dwelling race of Assam. With the help of these, and some recent volumes from other well-equipped workers, it is possible to survey areas rendered still more interesting by their former physical connexion, starting from the Malay Peninsula, travelling northwards to Assam, and thence southward to the tongue of the Indian Peninsula.

No more fascinating and perhaps no more fruitful portion of the globe offers a field for exploration than that wherein Messrs Skeat and Blagden worked for some years. Of the four species of anthropoid apes, the orang-utan, whose brain is the most human-like in structure and appearance, and the gibbon, whose dentition is nearest to that of man, are indigenous in the Asian tropics. Stone implements have been found in the Pliocene beds of Upper Burma, which country, at that period, was connected with Borneo, Sumatra, and Java. The upper Pliocene deposits of the last-named island have yielded fragments of an animal named *Pithecanthropus erectus* which, in the judgment of experts, 'represents the nearest likeness yet found of the human ancestor at a stage immediately antecedent to the definitely human phase, and yet at the same time in advance of the

simian stage.' The evidence thus far collected points to the conclusion that in this Indo-Malayan region we are near the cradle of mankind. The identity of certain fossil flora and fauna in India and South Africa supports the theory of a former land-connexion, the fragments of which survive in Madagascar, the Seychelles, and other continental islands. At the same period an Indo-Austral continent linked together New Guinea, Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, so that a continuous land surface permitted migration of the Hominidæ in various directions. Apart from the impermanence incidental to traditional forms, the enormous changes in the distribution of land and water have obliterated traces of origins and movements. The starting-point in the enquiry is unknown, and may never be discovered, as it may lie buried in the bed of the Indian Ocean or of some other marine or lacustrine basin.'

The 'pagan races' of the Malay Peninsula, so called by Messrs Skeat and Blagden, 'because the point of religion as between the Mohammedan and non-Mohammedan is perhaps a better dividing line than the vague quality of wildness,' but whose native name is 'Orang-utan,' or 'men of the forest,' must not be confused with the 'Orang-Malâyu,' or true Malays, a sea-roving folk, probably from Sumatra, who swooped down on the peninsula some eight or nine centuries ago. First Hinduised and then Mohammedanised, they nevertheless retain a large body of primitive beliefs which keep them at the spiritual level of the aboriginal 'Orang-utan.' The religion of the Straits-born Chinaman has been described as 'a belief in the Virgin Mary, the Prophet Mohammed, and all the ghosts in Singapore'; and that of the Orang-Malâyu is a like incongruous amalgam, in which magic is the dominant element.

The beliefs which secure vitality to magical practices are a constant element in human nature; and it would be easy to show their persistence among all sorts and conditions of men through all time. Wherever the scientific spirit, which is the spirit of order, is absent, the place is usurped by the spirit of confusion, whereby man becomes the sport of fancy and the slave of fear. So manifold are the departments of life in which the apparatus of charms and divination has ceaseless play,

that Mr Skeat has no difficulty in filling nine-tenths of his book with the vocations of the *pawang*, or village sorcerer, who, clad in yellow (the royal colour) and holding the keys of the invisible, wields a kingly and sacerdotal authority akin to that of the Roman pontiffs of the eleventh century. In this realm of the occult, the barbaric and the unlettered and credulous are on common ground. Parallels suggest themselves everywhere. The palmist of Bond Street is on the same level as the Malay chironomist; and the mediums of East and West gull their disciples with similar explanations when their tricks happen to fail. When a sheaf of palm-blossom refused to dance, Mr Skeat was told that the presence of 'any soul not impressionable' was fatal; and among ourselves the sceptic who is one of the company at a *séance* is blamed for the non-appearance of the spirits.

Adolf Bastian has defined magic as 'the physics of mankind in a state of nature,' because it carries within it a rudimentary idea of some constancy of relation between things. Hence the universality of the practices grouped under the term 'sympathetic' or 'mimetic' magic, based on the belief that an effect can be produced by imitating the cause. The hackneyed example of this is the making of a wax or clay image of the person whose destruction is sought and then melting the wax or putting the clay effigy in running water, so that, as these waste, the person dies. Illustrations of a more subtle kind are given by Mr Dennett, Mr Thurston, and others. Among the Luango tribes of the Congo the *lembe* or head-wife is kept in strict seclusion within the hut or ring-fence, and is forbidden to eat the *xala* fish, because it makes desperate efforts to escape from the net.* In southern India the women tie knots in the leaves of young palms and heap up stones near the temples to ensure the tying of the *tali* or marriage band on their necks and the birth of a number of children.† In Melanesia, when a man finds a piece of *Astræa* coral-stone shaped like a bread-fruit, he buries it at the root of a bread-fruit tree to secure a good crop, and, for a consideration, will let others of less marked character found by his neighbours lie near it,

* 'At the Back of the Black Man's Mind,' p. 11, note 1.

† 'Ethnographic Notes in Southern India,' p. 352.

so that the *mana* or virtue is imparted to them.* In Sumatra, at the season of rice-sowing, the women let their long hair fall down their back, so that the stalks of the rice may be long.

There is validity in the distinction drawn by Sir Alfred Lyall† between primitive religion and magic. The former is an attitude of the savage mind towards powers beyond control (the term 'supernatural' not being applicable at this stage, because man, as yet, has drawn no line between nature and supernature), which may be placated by prayers and offerings; while the latter, acting independently of the gods, is an attempt to secure some result by certain tricks or devices. Hence arises an antagonism between the sorcerer and the priest or theurgist, who attributes the success of his rival to the help of diabolical agents. As more tangible and direct in its effects, although limited in its range, magic, in the judgment of some anthropologists, precedes the more spiritual acts connoted by religion. This may be so, because the spell is on a lower level than the prayer; yet the two are not disconnected, and have the common basis of seeking some advantage from what is unknown and therefore feared; prayer partaking more of the nature of a bargain, on the principle 'date et dabitur vobis.' Religion, at the stage now assumed, may be compared to the older rocks; it has no sharp lines of stratification, but only metamorphic features; fusion of primary elements has been continuous, and the new is a redistribution of the old. Wiedemann says that to the ancient Egyptian 'it mattered not whether a doctrine or myth ranked as religion or magic, worship or sorcery. He went so far as to allow the most flagrant contradictions to stand peaceably side by side.'

This mental attitude applies *a fortiori* to barbaric peoples; and we have to be on guard against assuming that things whose distinctions are clear to us are apprehensible to them, and to be expressed in common terms. Two recent books on African religion exemplify the need of this caution. In one, the author, Major Leonard, makes the natives of Lower Nigeria talk like adepts in the

* 'The Melanesians,' by R. H. Codrington, p. 183.

† 'Asiatic Studies,' p. 77 (ed. 1884).

Spencerian philosophy. In the other, Mr Dennett, after insisting on what the late Mary Kingsley called 'thinking black,' says that the ontology 'at the back of' the Luango mind divides things of the body and spirit into six parts, adds to these twenty-four powers which represent the winds as causative attributes, and elaborates a further subdivision into two hundred and one parts. In connexion with this remarkable system tuition is given in a corresponding number of sacred groves.

There is as yet only partial recognition that the doctrine of psychical continuity, linking man to the lowest life-forms in an unbroken chain, must revolutionise popular theories of the origin of religion. The verdict of modern psychology is 'that the development of the mind in its early stages, and in certain of its directions of progress, is revealed most adequately in the animal.' In the evolution of religion, traced backwards, we reach a stage anterior to what is known as animism, or the belief in spirits embodied in everything, wherein is the germ of the later anthropomorphic ideas. This anterior stage, which is implicit in the animal, is naturism, by which is to be understood the conception of power everywhere; power vague but immanent, as yet unclothed with supernatural or personal attributes.

The Melanesians, Dr Codrington tells us, are entirely possessed by belief in a supernatural power or influence called almost universally *mana*, to which no personal qualities are attributed, and which can be conveyed in almost everything. 'All Melanesian religion consists in obtaining *mana* or deriving benefit from it.' The Algonkin *manitou*, the Dakotan *wakonda* and the Iroquois *oki* or *orenda* in each case has been translated 'God,' giving circulation to the erroneous belief that the Red Indian races had conceived the idea of one great Spirit. The truth is that the Dakotans apply the word *wakonda* indifferently to sun, moon, elements, and many other natural objects; to man, especially, if he is a *shaman* or wizard, and to fetishes. So far as the term is translatable, it may be rendered 'that which makes or brings to pass'; and the same meaning applies to *manitou* and *oki*, all being impersonal. Among the Maori the generic title *atua* was given to everything the nature of which was mysterious; it 'did not convey a distinct idea of God.'

It is the 'Infinite and Eternal Energy' of the barbaric mind producing manifest results, but in its nature incomprehensible. The Bantu *mulungu*, the equivalent of the Kaffir *unkulunkulu* or the 'great great One,' is not connected with any idea of being or personality; and so with the Masai *ngai*, which leads Mr Hollis to suggest that we may have 'primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena.'

In early Greek religion Zeus is the thunder before he becomes the Thunderer; in the 'Religion of Numa' the idea of *numen*, a power, precedes that of *deus*, to which personal qualities are attributed, and to which a name is given, with all the significance which naming implies. It is a stage of the god-idea which is illustrated in Herodotus (ii 52) when, speaking of the Pelasgians, he says, 'they gave no title or name to any of their gods, for they had not yet heard any, but they called them gods ($\thetaεοὺς$) from some such notion as this, that they had set ($\thetaέντες$) in order all things, and so had the distribution of everything.' It is thus, so a more critical study of the processes of spiritual evolution suggests, that the passage is made from a vague, abstract naturism to a definite concrete animism which draws its support from many sources; not least, to quote Hobbes, among these, 'foure things, opinions of ghosts, ignorance of second causes, devotion towards what men fear, and taking of things casuall for prognostiques.' In these, he says, 'consisteth the naturall seed of religion.'

As the adult plant contains within itself the seed whereby the continuance of the species is secured, so this 'naturall seed of religion' remains potent. Whatever form the product may take, the conception of power, be it personified or not, abides as the governing impulse. Nothing is so conservative as religion; hence the persistence of the primal forces throughout man's spiritual history, so that an imported cult never wholly supersedes an indigenous cult, and succeeds only in so far as it adapts itself to it and wisely absorbs what it cannot abolish. Mr Wilkinson says that the four spirits of the sea, whom the forefathers of the Malays worshipped, became, in the celestial hierarchy of Islam, four archangels; and the Malay fisherman sacrifices to them before the elders of

the mosque. But, if this fail to bring him luck, he will talk to them in the old Indonesian tongue which he knows they will understand. So the Greek sailor prays to St Nicholas on sites dedicated to Poseidon, the ancient sea-god; for places, when once sacred, become ever consecrate, no matter how often the deities may change. On no higher plane is the ague-stricken Lincolnshire peasant who blends the Christian with the Scandinavian god and demon in his word-charm when he strikes three horse-shoes with 'mell' or hammer, 'One for God, an' one for Wod, an' one for Lok.'

Regarding his ship as a living thing—and who, loving the sea, can refrain from personifying the craft that bears him?—the Malay burns incense and strews the sacrificial rice before he hoists sail; then, tapping the keelson and the plank above it, begs them to hold together during the voyage:

'Peace be with you, O big Medang and low-growing Medang!
Be ye not parted brother from brother.'

When he builds a house, following the universal custom of propitiating the disturbed earth-spirit by a foundation sacrifice, he consults the list of lucky days, digs the hole for the centre-post, then takes a fowl or goat, cuts its throat, spills the blood into the hole, and repeating a charm, buries the head and feet of the animal in the hole. In modern Greece, after the ground is cleared for building, the Pappas attends in full canonicals, and, after prayers, beheads a fowl or lamb, and smears the blood on the foundations. In Malaya the greatest precautions are taken to prevent the shadow of any of the workers from falling either upon the supporting post itself or upon the hole, in the belief that sickness will result. In contrary practice, Roumanian workmen try to catch the shadow of a passing stranger, and quickly drop the foundation-stone of a new building upon it. They believe that the man whose shadow is thus interred must die, 'but being unaware of his doom, he feels neither pain nor anxiety, so it is less cruel than to wall-in a living man.' If the Bulgarians cannot get a human shadow they measure the shadow of the first animal that passes by. Numerous relics of the substitutionary practice occur, until we reach what is perhaps a

humane survival in the deposit of coins of the realm under the foundation-stones of public structures.

Everywhere in Malaya there are traces of the old animism which credits both living and non-living things with souls. As in Melanesia any stone of uncommon shape has *mana* or power attributed to it, so in Malay belief exceptional things, as fantastically-shaped trees, rocks, animals, have exceptional soul-personalities, while incidental products, as of a confinement, such as the *liquor amnii*, the *caul* and *placenta*, are endowed with possible life.* But it is to the great body of agricultural and allied ceremonies, wherewith all the world over, man, on his emergence from the nomadic and pastoral stages, has sought to ensure 'seed to the sower and bread to the eater,' that Mr Skeat adds to our store of examples and materials for comparison.

After a section which treats of the superstitions connected with the search after camphor, when the use of the ordinary Malay language is forbidden lest the spirit of the tree be offended, and when the salt eaten with the food must be coarse so that the grains of camphor may be large, we find an interesting group of animistic beliefs expressed in the ritual attending sowing. Here, as elsewhere, from Scotland to Polynesia, sympathetic magic is to be seen in the refusal of the cultivator to plant the seed on an empty stomach; the planting of coco-nuts being enjoined 'when the stomach is overburdened with food.' But the most important ceremonies gather round the annual cultivation of rice, as the staff of life in the East. After consultation with the *pawang* or magician, the propitious day for planting is fixed, and the peasants are bidden to the mosque in order that prayers may be read over the 'mother-seed.'† At harvest the presence of the *pawang* is also necessary, when a small basket is provided to hold the rice first cut, known as the 'soul of the rice.'

'When the rice is ripe all over, one must first take the "soul" out of all the plots of one's field. You choose the spot where

* Wilkinson, p. 30, and cf. 'The Khasis,' p. 126.

† In the spring of this year the present writer was shown, in the *turbeh* of Murad I at Brusa, a bronze bowl containing wheat which had been blessed preparatory to being mixed with the seed to be sown.

the rice is best, and where it is female, that is to say, where the bunch of stalks is big, and where there are seven joints in the stalk' (the persistency of the number seven in Malay magic may be due to worship of the planets, or to Mohammedan influence). 'You begin with a bunch of this kind and clip seven stems to be the "soul of the rice," and then you clip yet another handful to be the "mother-seed" for the following year. The "soul" is wrapped in a white cloth tied with a cord of *terap* bark, and made into the shape of a little child in swaddling clothes and put into the small basket.'

The 'mother-seed' is put into another basket, and both are fumigated with benzoin; and then the two baskets are piled the one on the other, taken home, and put into the receptacle in which the rice is stored.

As shown in numberless examples in Dr Frazer's encyclopaedic 'Golden Bough,' the belief that the spirit of the corn, or maize, or rice, as the case may be, is resident in the last sheaf, is world-wide. The sheaf is made up into the shape of a baby, which is rigidly guarded till the next sowing season, when the grains are mixed with those saved for seed, so that the quickening 'spirit' may fertilise them. Thus the 'kern-baby' of Perthshire and the 'corn-maiden' of western England have their identical correspondences in the 'little child' of Malaya.

If we remember Kepler's theory of an earth-spirit, to whose activity he attributed the daily movements and perturbations of the globe, and also the medieval belief that noxious gases in mines were due to demons—a writer on mineralogy in the sixteenth century complained that the mines in France and Germany had been in large part abandoned because the evil spirits of metals had taken possession of them—we may be less surprised at the animistic beliefs about gold, iron, and especially tin which prevail in Malaya, and are related to the popular accrediting of metals, as, for example, of antimony in Italy, with magical properties. The Malay miner believes that tin is under the protection and command of certain spirits whom he considers it necessary to propitiate; that the tin itself is alive and grows; that of its own volition it can move from place to place; that it can reproduce itself; and that it has special likes and dislikes for certain people and things. Hence the tin ore has to be treated with respect; its convenience

has to be consulted ; and, still more curious, the business of mining has to be conducted in such a way that the tin ore may be obtained without its own knowledge.

Prospecting for the metal is a monopoly of the *pawang*, whose functions correspond to those of the 'dowser' or water-diviner among ourselves ; and the 'nosing' is conducted under an elaborate code of ceremonies and taboos. No elephant, buffalo (in which shape the tin is believed to wander underground), or cat is allowed near the mine ; and it is forbidden even to name them, lest the *hantu* or spirits be offended. As among barbaric peoples everywhere, the animal hunted or slain is addressed in coaxing or flattering terms, in the belief that it may be the incarnation of some metamorphosed ancestor, or in view of man's supposed kinship with the brute ; so the tin 'spirit' is 'squared,' the *pawang*, as remarked above, using his art so that it may not know that the metal is being sought. Euphemism comes into play, the tin ore being called 'grass-seed,' as, in out-of-the-way districts of Scotland, 'red-fish' is used for salmon, in the belief that it will resent having its name mentioned by the fishermen.

The reflections suggested by the persistence of barbaric ideas and practices among the semi-civilised Malays lead naturally to a consideration of the more primitive races whose beliefs and customs are described in Messrs Skeat and Blagden's portly volumes. The Orang-utan tribes fall into three groups, more or less intermixed : (1) the woolly-haired dark-skinned Negrito Semang, who are the most nomadic of the three, and are allied to the Negritos of the Andamans and the Philippines ; (2) the light-complexioned, wavy-haired Sakai, in whom Virchow sees kinship with the Australian natives, Veddas, and some South-Indian tribes ; (3) the lank-haired, copper-skinned Jakuns, a proto-Malayan race, not easy to define, because of the Malayan strain in them. These last-named are divided into the Orang-Benua, or 'men of the hills,' and Orang-Laut, or 'men of the sea.' The former raids of Malay man-hunters, no longer possible under British rule, drove the Orang-utan into the recesses of the jungle ; while the proximity of fierce animals partly explains their arboreal habits, as it

also explains the habits of the larger number of the Peninsular fauna, 'half-beast, half-bird, which in the Malayan forest continually afford some fresh and delightful surprise.' Their rude dwellings, the evolution of which can be traced from the primitive beehive shape to the *balai* or communal hall, are sometimes placed in the forks of branches and reached by ladders, although the prehensile feet of these wild folk enable them to climb the tree on which their hut is fixed. Sometimes this is built on piles, a method of defence which has prevailed from prehistoric times, or is guarded by a ring-fence. For dress, a girdle of leaves suffices; the Sakai, in their tattooing and body-painting, show a taste for decoration like that of their Australian congeners.

Messrs Skeat and Blagden give considerable space to what, following the elaborate theories of the late Mr Vaughan-Stevens, they are inclined to regard as decorative symbolism among the Semang. This ingenious romancer, described by men who knew him well as a modern Munchausen, 'deceived the very elect.' The zigzags and hatch-lines scratched on the women's combs he interpreted as charms against diseases, the rude pictures of animals and flowers on blowpipes and dart-quivers as designs to secure the prey by sympathetic magic; everywhere, on birth and burial bamboos, on incised and ornamental staves, he found keys unlocking the magic and mystery of Malaya. The note of caution which is sounded by the authors against indiscriminate acceptance of Mr Vaughan-Stevens' vagaries may pass unheeded in the undue prominence accorded to them; and an emphatic disclaimer as to their inherent worthlessness is to be desired, because they mischievously arrest approach to sane solutions. In seeking the fantastic there is danger of missing the obvious; and there is as little warrant for assuming an esoteric meaning in the ornamentation of the Semang weapons as in the rude but effective etchings of horse, deer, and mammoth on fragments of bone and horn which the savage hunter of the reindeer period left on the cavern-floors of western Europe. He and his modern representatives were neither cabballists nor symbolists.

Fire is obtained by friction; for food, the ubiquitous yam is supplemented by the foetid-smelling yet (say those

who have acquired the taste) delicious durian, favourite fruit of the orang-utan ape. The skill of these 'pagan races' in the use of weapons is marvellous. With the blowpipe they can kill at a distance of sixty yards, and hit a dollar laid on a fallen tree at thirty paces. The poison for their arrows is obtained from the ipoh or upas tree, the deadly properties of which, confined to its secretion, known as antiarin, gave rise to the well-known fable that its exhalations were fatal to animal and plant for miles round. Creatures as huge as the elephant are killed by the ingenious device of laming them and then despatching them with poisoned darts. For these nomads, moving from place to place as food-supplies are exhausted, there is small temptation to acquire land; and none of the tribes can be said to have made much approach to the agricultural stage. Here and there the soil is turned up with a pointed stick, and rice and yams are planted; but much of the food is procured by barter with the Malays, who always get the best of the bargain. Stone adzes have been found, but these appear to be relics of an older jungle-race; and the need for them, as for pottery, is superseded by the bamboo, with which man in the East supplies the larger number of his daily wants.

The theory of promiscuity as the basis of sex-relations among primitive races which, despite the contrary arguments adduced by Dr Westermarck and others, still finds favour in belated anthropological text-books, is further discredited by the monogamous customs of the Orang-utan. Survivals, mostly in symbolic form, of bride-capture and purchase occur, and polygamy and polyandry exist, but rarely and sporadically; these institutions being explicable by the scarcity of men or of women respectively. All the world over, eating together, usually out of the same dish, is a common custom between bride and bridegroom. Taboo is suspended; and a commensal act implying new and special relations is performed. The ancient Roman *confarreatio*, when the bride and groom ate together in the presence of the Flamen Dialis and the Pontifex Maximus, has its modern representative in Malaya.

The Semang believe that the unborn child is provided with a soul by the expectant mother carrying a bamboo receptacle in which she keeps the soul-bird, usually a

small pheasant, which, when eaten, becomes the vehicle whereby the soul is transferred to the child. This suggests a near parallel in the Australian belief in certain mythical ancestors known as *alcheringa*, being the names of animals or plants from which they are said to have descended. On the spot where these *alcheringa* died there arose some rock or tree in which their spirit dwells. When a woman conceives near one of these objects, she believes this to be due to the reincarnation of one of the spirits in her body. The child belongs to the totem of the spot where the conception took place, and not to the totem of the mother.

'To the Australian native there is no difficulty in the assumption that an animal or a plant could be transformed directly into a human being, or that the spirit part which he supposes it to possess, just as he does in his own case, could remain, on the death of the animal, associated with such an object as a Churinga, and at some future time arise in the form of a human being.' *

The Semang father chooses the name of the child from some tree near the birthplace, and shouts it to the midwife. Traces of totemism among the tribes are rare; but we are near the root-idea in the child being forbidden to eat of the fruit of the tree from which its name is taken; while a main feature in the theory of the 'Golden Bough' is illustrated by the Malay belief that the death of the tree follows that of the individual who bears its name. The name-superstition finds further illustration among the Sakai. Any offending member is punished by the *poyang* (who corresponds to the Malay *pawang*) removing and burying the headband on which is painted the name of the culprit, who is expelled from the tribe until his offence is purged. Till then his name is blotted out. This custom of temporary anonymity is paralleled among the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia. Blankets and copper-plates form the currency, and are loanable against a man's name, he remaining nameless until the advance is repaid. The rate of interest is governed by the status of the borrower. While 'Flying Cloud' or 'Black Eagle,' as a chieftain, can recover

* Spencer and Gillen, 'Native Tribes of Central Australia,' p. 127.

his name by paying fifty blankets for a loan of thirty blankets, an ordinary brave must pay one hundred.

The root-idea is that the name of any being, from the great gods of the heavens through all the gradation of spirits down to mortal men and women, is an integral part of that being. It is regarded as an entity, hence, as in the example just cited, it can become a negotiable instrument, whereby the named puts himself in the power of another. No belief is more widespread than this, or has survived with greater force among all races. A striking illustration is furnished by the old Egyptian ontology, which, in its eightfold division of the man, held his *ran* or name as the most important, because, if that was blotted out, he ceased to exist. The savage who believes that the sorcerer can work black magic upon his fellows through possessing himself of cuttings of their nails or hair, or their saliva and excreta, or even their portrait, extends this to the name; hence the universal reluctance to tell it, and the devices to conceal it. The superstition works both ways, because if knowledge of a man's name puts him at the mercy of an enemy, the knowledge of his enemy's name gives him the same advantage. Thus is explained the activity of this belief, which extends to naming the dead, because to name them is to invoke their presence; it is also to be seen in the sanctity and secrecy investing the names of gods, their jealous guardianship of these, and their punishment of mortals who take their names in vain. In Egyptian myth, Isis, wisest of all, could attain to power only by knowledge of the secret name of Râ, which, finally, she obtained by stratagem, with the result that the old sun-god lost his vigour, and was no longer feared by men. In Chaldea, ancient home of magic, all things in heaven, earth, and the underworld were enthralled by the power of the god's name.

In closest relation to names of power are words of power—spells, incantations, curses, cure-charms, pass-words, and the mighty creative words by which the universe came into being—apparatus of tremendous influence on creeds and rituals to this day. But a mere recital of the numerous forms, and comment on their significance, would furnish matter for a volume; and this digression may be ended by an apposite extract from a

private letter from Mr Hugh Clifford, now Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, whose contributions touching Malayan dialects are a valuable feature of Messrs Skeat and Blagden's volumes.

'The Malays dislike mentioning their own names. If asked by one who does not know their customs or prejudices, "What is your name?" a Malay will nudge a friend and say, "Tell him," or will answer, "Ask this man." The notion is that pronouncing one's name is unlucky, as it calls the attention of the spirits to the man who does it, though the same result does not come from the mention of a proper name by another. Similarly, the Malays of the jungle will not mention the name of a tiger, lest the animal should thereupon appear. So he is usually spoken of as "he of the hairy face," or "the striped one," or some similar euphemism. Among the Sakai, men of the Mon-Annam stock, the dislike of mentioning proper names is very strong; and in the far interior, notably in the valley of the Telom in Pahang, the dislike of mentioning names is carried to extraordinary lengths. When I made a considerable stay in the Telom valley in 1890 the whole place was anonymous, so far as I was concerned, with the exception of one man, Haish, the Porcupine, whose name was whispered to me by a mischievous boy. In speaking of one another the Sakai of this part of Pahang referred to the "old man of such and such a village"; to "my brother-in-law of this place," "my cousin of this place," and so on.'

The difficulty of 'thinking black' or 'thinking brown' is emphasised whenever the attempt is made to understand the religions of the lower races. Only misconception can result from applying our definitions to their gods and godlings; and the assumption that any coherency of ideas exists is fatal. Mr Skeat, in giving a classified list of the spirits and demons of the three pagan races, may have drawn too sharp a line when he says that the Semang have little dread of the spirits, while the Sakai live in terror of them; yet his statement is supported by the fact that, among the former, when a death occurs, the *snahut*, a sort of inferior priest-chief, examines the corpse and puts an inscribed burial-bamboo beside the grave, because, lacking that, the soul cannot depart to appear for judgment before Kari, the thunder-god, who kills the wicked by lightning; whilst among

the Sakai, when any one dies, the hut, sometimes the settlement, is deserted and burned. In contrast with this, the Jakun, seeking to appease what they fear, provide for the soul by building near the grave a hut about the size of a doll's house, which is provided with a slanting stick so that the soul may climb up to it. Sometimes a little ditch is dug round the grave so that the soul may paddle its own canoe. 'It is like the air,' said an old Jakun to Mr Skeat, thereby coming into line with that ethereal conception of spirit which is a common note of the lower and the higher psychology; the 'certain soul and semblance, though substance there be none,' which Achilles describes when he clasps the shade of Patroclus; a conception which has its correspondence in the 'filmy emanations' of spiritualism and in the modern theologian's ether 'as the basis of the soul.'

If ethics rest upon a social foundation, that is, on instincts and sympathies guided by reason and justified by experience, they are independent of theological codes and supernatural sanctions; and of this these 'pagan tribes,' into whom 'the hall-mark of the primeval forest is burned,' supply a striking example. They are a timid, shy, and peaceful folk, incapable, like all races at the lower and arrested stages, of any prolonged mental strain; but Mr Skeat testifies that

'the hardships of their life only served to throw into relief their higher qualities, their open-heartedness, sincerity, and well-developed common-sense, qualities which, I confess, I never yet met so generally diffused in any other tropical race of which I have had experience. This is the universal testimony of all who have known them well, and I need add to my own only a single testimony, that of a Malay (who was of all men best qualified to speak) who himself once remarked to me in tones of deep disdain, "What stupid animals these Sakai are; they don't know how to tell a lie!"'

Enough, perhaps, has been said to show that Messrs Skeat and Blagden's volumes, after some further modification of their treatment of Vaughan-Stevens' theories, will remain a standard authority on a people as near the primitive stage of culture as we are now likely to find.

The warrant for a rapid transition from Malaya to

Assam is in the probable ethnic relationship between the Khasis of that province and the proto-Malays. The evidence of this rests partly on affinities of language (e.g. the name of the Khasi hoe in use at this day corresponding with the Burmese name of the Palæolithic implements found in Burma and the Malay Peninsula), and partly on certain physical resemblances. But, as will be seen, some of the customs and rites which are special among the Khasis are explicable only on the theory of long isolation even from the encircling Tibeto-Burman populations.

As the result of three years' sojourn among the Khasis, and intimate acquaintance with them, Major Gurdon has produced a volume of deep interest to anthropologists. It is barely eighty years ago since Europeans first entered the Khasi hills; and a generation then passed before the scientific expeditions of the venerable Sir Joseph Hooker and other travellers revealed the prevalence of customs and institutions in curious contrast to those of the immediately surrounding peoples.

The institution of matriarchy, or rule of the mother, which is not to be confused with mother-right, or rule through the mother, is handled with a fullness rendering Major Gurdon's book of exceptional value. There are some slight differences in detail in the practice of the clans. Among some *gentes* the husband lives with his wife in her mother's house; among others he visits her there, though never by daylight. But in each case his position is secondary; the wife is more than (as was humorously said of Eve) a 'mere side-issue.' Her earnings support the household until the married pair take a home of their own, when the earnings are pooled. All the clans are exogamous. The direst consequences follow if a Khasi weds a woman from his own clan; he lives and dies an outcast, and his body is denied sepulture. In the law of inheritance in force among the pure Khasis the man does not count; he is a mere begetter. Any property acquired by him before his marriage belongs to his mother. He can take no part in the rites and ceremonies of the family, and his ashes are excluded from her *mawbah* or family tomb. Not only is the woman the sole head and source and only bond of union of the family; in the most primitive districts she is the

only possible owner of real property, and through her alone inheritance is transmitted. It is the youngest daughter in whom the family estate is vested, and who, as hearth-priestess, performs the ceremonies connected with the worship of ancestors. Their memorial stones, both small and great, are a feature of the country, linking the Khasis with the megalithic races whose dolmens and, cromlechs line the prehistoric track across the old world to the Pacific shore. The inheritress cannot sell the family property without the consent of her sisters, and, failing lineal succession through daughters, the estate falls to the aunt's youngest daughter.

In his 'Origins of English History' the late Mr Elton has shown that the oldest customs of inheritance in England and Germany (and this is applicable elsewhere) are in their remote beginnings connected with a domestic religion, and based upon a worship of ancestral spirits of which the hearth-place was essentially the shrine and altar. Primogeniture comes down from a people who had assigned to the eldest son the functions of house-priest. But among the Mongolian races of northern and central Asia, who may have recognised no essential pre-eminence in the eldest member of the family, there arose the custom of assigning these priestly duties to the youngest child, presumably of either sex. In this may lie the explanation of the still existing custom known among ourselves as 'Borough English' or ultimogeniture (French *Juveignerie*; German *Jüngstenrecht*) under which, in cases of intestacy, the youngest child inherits in whole or in part. In Kent the manorial law allots to the youngest son or daughter 'the hearth-place in the homestead, and as far as forty feet round it.' Possibly the matriarchate, and other institutions regulating descent, arose through a natural desire to retain the property in the possession of the *gens*. But here we are among hypotheses, and must wait for a possible solution in further comparative study of tenures which are survivals of a barbaric stage of society.

The matriarchate institution probably explains why U-Blei-Nong-thaw, one of the great company of absentee deities who in every religion are invoked only under special stress, is spoken of as feminine. Of her, as of the lower grades of Khasi gods, no image exists—a stage

which, here and elsewhere, suggests that iconism offers a barely explored field to the anthropologist. The religion, despite elements of nature worship, is defined 'as made up of forms used to cure diseases and to avert misfortunes by ascertaining the name of the demon as the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.' In short, it presents the usual features of the lower animism; the majority of spirits are credited with malign characteristics, and have therefore to be squared. The principal of these is U-thlen, a huge snake appeasable only by human sacrifices, which, until recent times, were made to him. But ophiolatry, especially as a widespread cult in southern Asia, is a well-worn subject; and here what is only more or less exceptional can receive notice.

There is a sharp decadence from the part primarily played by the egg in Scandinavian, Finnish, Hindu, and other creation myths, to its place in Khasi divination. From the story of Eros in the 'Birds' of Aristophanes—

‘There was chaos at first, and darkness, and night,
And Tartarus vasty and dismal;
But the earth was not there, nor the sky, nor the air,
Till at length in the bosom abysmal
Of darkness an egg, from the whirlwind conceived,
Was laid by the sable-plumed Night,
And out of that egg, as the seasons revolved,
Sprang Love, the entrancing, the bright’ *

—we descend to the use of the egg in Orphic ritual for purification and as an offering to the dead, and thence to the breaking of eggs by the Khasis for purposes of divination. The custom of placing on the stomach of the dead an egg, which is afterwards broken at the funeral pyre, may have no far-fetched parallel in the depicting of eggs on Athenian white *lekythoi* among the objects brought in baskets to the tomb. And as the egg holds the potential fowl, prognostics drawn from it have fundamental relation with those drawn from the entrails of the fowl. Whether the object be to find out the cause of death, or the lucky day for building a house, or for placing the remains of the departed in the communal

* From B. B. Rogers' spirited translation,

sepulchre, or what particular disease-bringing demon is offended, or whether the name given to the newly-born has the approval of the spirits, the augury is taken from the breaking of eggs. The diviner, muttering incantations, dashes an egg upon a board and reads good or evil signs in the direction in which the fragments fall. If it appears that Ka-Iawbei, the tribal ancestress (most of the clan trace their descent from a Kiaw or 'grandmother'), is angry, a hen is sacrificed, and as the cock is U-iar-kradlynti, i.e. 'he who scratches the way for the spirit,' it is sacrificed for ascertainment of the lucky day for interment of the bones or ashes of the dead. Among some tribes of the Malay Archipelago the medicine man seeks to discover from the yolk of an egg, broken while sacramentally counting from one to seven, the cause and nature of a patient's illness.

Leaving the Khasi and Jaintia hills of Assam for the Nilgiri hills of southern India, we find, in place of the law of descent through the mother, an elaborately organised system of polyandry; and in place of the taboo on milk and allied products, a religion of which the dairies are temples, and the milking of the sacred buffaloes the duty of a priesthood set apart for that function. Such contrarieties, which may be shown to spring from a common idea expressing itself in different forms, are of the essence of the East. As Lord Acton has shrewdly said, 'If you find anything symmetrical there, you may be sure that it is of European origin.'

The earliest record of the Todas dates from 1602, when rumours concerning a mountain race descended from the ancient Christians of St Thomas caused the despatch of a mission, which reported that it found 'no traces of Christianity in them; no pagoda worship nor pagan ceremonials. On being questioned concerning their god, they spoke of a bird, a father, and a son, from which it may be presumed that they had some notion of the Blessed Trinity.' A Jesuit priest who visited Todomala in the following year found that the people 'could not tell him anything' about the doctrine.

Since 1812, when interest in the Todas was revived, they have been exploited by many travellers, whose narratives leave 'blanks that even Mr Rivers, after a

sojourn of eight months among them, confesses himself unable to fill. His exhaustive work is a model of its kind. Designed as an object-lesson in anthropological method, it achieves its aim, notably in a remarkable series of genealogical tables tracing the family history of well-nigh every member of the tribe. The difficulty which prejudices put in his way in this enquiry was increased by the taboo on uttering the name of any dead elder relative. The long-standing practice of female infanticide, due primarily to lack of food, goes far to account for the existence of polyandry, the gradual decline in which, on the other hand, is explained by the growing increase in the proportion of women, leading to polygamy, and ultimately to monogamy. A woman, on her marriage, becomes the wife of all her husband's brothers, each of whom is equally regarded as the father of her children. And when a boy marries a girl, all his brothers are regarded as her husbands, any brothers born after the marriage being also included. Hence, in the larger number of unions, the husbands are brothers; the case of women having husbands belonging to different clans being very rare. Mr Rivers testifies to the absence of friction in these curious relations. When a child is born, paternity of all the brothers is recognised, but the descent is usually traced from the one who performs the symbolical ceremony (for the Todas use no weapons) of giving the bow and arrow to the expectant mother. In southern India, where polyandry is only sporadic, Mr Thurston says that among the Kallans, when a woman is the wife of ten, eight, six, or two husbands, who are held to be the fathers, jointly and severally, of her offspring, these speak of themselves as the children of eight and two fathers, because it is unlucky to mention the number ten.

No department of Toda lore, Mr Rivers tells us, gave him so much trouble as the study of the beliefs about the gods. Misfortune dogged the steps of those who broke taboo on that subject. One man who had pointed out certain sacred places fell seriously ill; another lost his wife a few days after he had betrayed the method of performing one of the most sacred of Toda ceremonies; and a third man, who had revealed some of the ritual of the sacred dairy, had his own dairy burnt. No wonder

the diviners ascribed these calamities to the anger of the gods against the impious unveilers of their secrets.

The information which Mr Rivers succeeded in wresting from reluctant witnesses lacks coherence, because only the vaguest ideas about their ancient gods prevail among the clans. The *dii majores*, who are neither nature-deities nor deified ancestors, are conceived of as both male and female. They once lived among men, and now dwell on the high hills, unseen and little heeded, save when the sorcerer invokes their aid, thus further illustrating the close alliance of magic and religion. On, son of Puthi (perhaps allied to Prithivi, the Sanskrit word for earth), created the sacred buffaloes and the Todas, while Pinârkûrs, his wife, created the ordinary buffaloes.

In his chapter on the origin and history of the Todas, Mr Rivers can arrive only at the tentative conclusion that they came from Malabar, perhaps subsequently to the settlement of Jews and Christians more than a thousand years ago. Contact with these may explain the legend current among the Todas that On, when making man, 'who came holding the tail of the last buffalo,' took a rib from his right side and thereof made a woman. But that contact, if it happened, was superficial; and in their migration from Malabar they brought with them a concrete form of zoolatry in the cult of the buffalo, the dominance of which, in Mr Rivers' judgment, partly explains the decadence of the older religion. These animals are vigilantly guarded in sacred dairies called *ti*, and are divided, as it were, into castes, the sanctity of the milk rising in degree with that of the status of the animal yielding it. Each event in buffalo life—the birth of calves, the movements of the animal from one *ti* to another, the periodical salt-giving, and the purification of the dairy—is marked by a ceremonial the elaborateness of which, however, is simplicity compared with that attending the ordination of the *palol* or dairyman priest. Thenceforward he is surrounded by taboos as severe as those that ruled the life of the Flamen Dialis, the priest of Jupiter. He must be celibate; he must always ford a river, and never cross it by a bridge; he must surrender his office if he takes part in any funeral rites; and, should any unconsecrated person touch him, he ceases to be a

palol. These and other irksome restrictions are causing, it appears, a dearth of Toda candidates for holy orders.

Cleansing precedes, and prayer accompanies, milking and churning in the *ti*, where everything in use has a ceremonial name to distinguish it from corresponding articles in the secular dairies. The produce of these secures a ready market in the bazaar at Ootakamand; and there is a suspicion that, tempted by the chances of exchange for other comestibles, even the sacred curds and buttermilk occasionally find their way thither. The most revered objects in the *ti* are the bells, usually tongueless, and frequently hung on the buffaloes of the highest grade. Some of the bells are believed to be of miraculous origin, and many have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered them during the dairy ceremonial. 'Worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.' Thus, the Dusuns of North Borneo worship their *gusi*, or sacred jars, the Hindu farmer and artisan the implements by which they live, the soldier his sword, the ascetic his alms-bag, and the clerk his office-boxes and red tape, symbols of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning. 'They sacrifice,' says the prophet Habakkuk, 'unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag.'

Scant space is left for adequate notice of Mr Thurston's book, which he modestly calls a 'farrago,' but which is a valuable storehouse of anthropological facts. To the duties involved in superintendence of the Madras Government Museum he has added those of an ethnographic survey of the outlying districts of the Presidency, with the result of a substantial increase in our knowledge of the varied and tenacious customs of races, possibility of fusion between whom is the delusion of the doctrinaire. The sections on marriage and death fill the larger portion of the work. That on marriage records the survival of traces of bride-capture and bride-purchase, as also of the imposition of feats of skill as a condition of winning the woman, which is a familiar incident in folk-tales. Tree marriage flourishes. As it is unlucky for a younger brother to wed before the elder, the latter goes through the form of nuptials with a plantain tree. A third marriage being unpropitious, a Hindu will be married to an *aska* plant, so that the real marriage becomes the

fourth. The ancient custom of the sacrifice of female chastity in Babylonian, Cypriote, and other temples, is practised in southern India, where, among certain classes, one girl in every family is set apart for such service, while not losing caste. The worship of ancestors has a prominent place both at weddings and funerals; at the latter, various objects representing the deceased are placed about the house to secure their blessing; at the former, stones of various sizes are erected, the larger indicating the adult forebears, and the smaller the members of the tribe who died young.

The succeeding sections of Mr Thurston's book show us how the dreamy East and the practical West meet together on the lower ground of superstitions, for there all the world is as one country. The invocation of the god in sneezing, the deprecation of praise lest the malicious spirits work evil on the praised, the omens associated with certain acts and days—the crossing of a road by a hare, for example, everywhere portending ill-luck—the hanging of rags on trees to transfer the disease from the sufferer, and the *ex votos* in pagan, Hindu, and Christian temples, the belief in the metamorphosis of witch and wizard into animal, the foundation-sacrifice already referred to, of which Mr Thurston gives example in the refusal of the coolies to place the supporting piers of the Madras Museum in position until a goat had been killed—these, and a host of other extant beliefs and customs, bring their 'great cloud of witnesses' to the psychical unity of mankind. Nor is this limited to the rites and customs and symbols which everywhere survive in essence, however changed in form. It applies to all stages of religious development. There is correlation in the spiritual as in the physical. Every step in scientific research brings us nearer confirmation of the theory that the elements of which the universe is built up are modifications of one substance whose ultimate nature we may never penetrate; and every advance in the comparative study of religions leads to the conclusion that, to borrow a term from chemistry, these are allotropic. The component parts are the same; the variety is in their distribution.

EDWARD CLODD.

Art. IX.—INDIAN POVERTY AND DISCONTENT.

1. *Life and Labour of the People in India.* By Abdullah Yusuf Ali. London : Murray, 1907.
2. *India in the Victorian Age.* By R. C. Dutt. London : Kegan Paul, 1904.
3. *The Economic History of British India.* By R. C. Dutt. London : Kegan Paul, 1902.
4. *Prosperous British India: a revelation.* By W. Digby. London : Fisher Unwin, 1901.
5. *Lord Curzon in India: being a selection from his Speeches, etc.* With an introduction by Sir Thomas Raleigh. London : Macmillan, 1906.
6. *L'Inde contemporaine.* By E. Piriou. Paris : Alcan, 1905.

THE question has often been asked in recent books, newspapers, and magazines—‘Is India growing poorer?’ Lately, we have been asking ourselves another question: ‘Is India growing discontented?’ There are persons who return an affirmative reply to both queries, and add that we are ourselves responsible for both misfortunes. Yet to those who have close acquaintance with the country and the people, the former of these suggestions seems preposterous, and the latter exaggerated. India is an exceedingly poor country; but to assert that her poverty is increasing is to fly in the face of obvious and unanswerable facts. There are classes of persons who manifest lively discontent with British rule, but their discontent is in great measure histrionic, and is displayed for a purpose; while the masses of the population accept our domination, if without enthusiasm, at least with a conviction that it secures to them benefits of which, failing it, they could have no hope.

Those critics who maintain that under British rule India is actually losing natural resources rely, in the main, upon three contentions. Firstly, they assert that the people *must* be impoverished by the ‘economic drain,’ that is to say, by the remittances which India makes each year to England; secondly, they appeal to famines as a proof of growing pauperism, alleging that famines are due to poverty, and that they are of increasing

frequency ; thirdly, they set forth conclusions with respect to the production of the country which can be extracted from the statistical contents of official Blue-books.

Let us take up these points in order. What is the 'economic drain' that is supposed to be thinning the life-blood of the country? It consists in the fact that of the annual expenditure of the Indian Government, some 18,000,000*l.* are disbursed in England. More than half of this sum represents interest paid upon English capital that is invested in railways, or has been loaned to the State. The railways fully pay their way ; and their interest charges (about 6,000,000*l.*) are obviously met, not by the taxpayer as such, but by those who use railway transport for their own profit or convenience. It would no doubt be to India's advantage if the shareholders were resident in India and spent in the country the money they receive. So also with the creditors of the State, who are annually paid some 3,000,000*l.* But Indian capitalists have not found railway undertakings or Government stocks an attractive investment ; and, had the lines not been constructed with English capital, they would, for the most part, have remained unconstructed. In this matter India is no worse off than many other countries which are compelled to look to foreign capital for their development, and would be thankful to attract it upon the terms that India can secure. There is a school of thought which denies that railways have benefited India ; but it will suffice for the ordinary enquirer to know that they are so greatly appreciated by the people as to provide the State with an annual profit, which has enabled it lately to make substantial reductions of taxation. It is, of course, only by their means that the Government has been able to control, in some measure, the terrible effects of famine. Another million and a half of the eighteen are paid for stores and material which are not at present procurable locally. The balance, about 7,000,000*l.*, represents the payments made for services, as opposed to capital and material, including army non-effective charges and pensions. It is only in respect to this 7,000,000*l.* that there can be any question of value received. The expenditure involves an annual charge of about sevenpence per head of population, which it is surely ridiculous to represent as exhausting the vitality

of the country. Nearly three times its amount is annually absorbed by the country in gold and silver.

To assert that the famines to which India is unhappily subject indicate that she is being impoverished by British rule is a reckless misrepresentation of facts. A famine results from a failure of rainfall, which has the effect of throwing the producing classes out of employment for a year or more at a time. Widespread destitution is the consequence, inasmuch as the majority have no accumulated savings. This is not peculiar to the working classes of India; and it is probable that a calamity comparable to a complete failure of rainfall, affecting industrial centres in Europe, would produce even greater suffering than in India, since the victims would be of less frugal habits. With a fertile soil and an advantageous market for produce, the people of Guzerat (in the Bombay Presidency) are amongst the most prosperous in India. Yet, under the stress of famine five years ago, they suffered far more acutely than their poorer brethren of the Deccan, because they were less inured to hardship. The loss of a year's earnings is, in truth, so dreadful a calamity that no working community, however prosperous in normal times, can bear it.

The most bitter critics of the Indian Government will hesitate to convict it for a failure of rainfall. India is situated upon the line which divides, so to speak, the useless from the useful energies of the monsoon current. Between Aden and Bombay this current confines itself to the sea, and leaves the coast of Arabia, the Gulf, and Baluchistan in desolate aridity. Between Calcutta and Singapore the current flows regularly landward; and a failure of rainfall is practically unknown. Across India the strength of the current oscillates from year to year, under influences which no human agency can control. It has been asserted that famines are of increasing frequency and severity. This may be so, but it is improbable in itself, and cannot be substantiated. The occurrence and extent of famines have been recorded of recent years more completely than formerly, because it is only of recent years that the Government of the country has accepted responsibility for the relief of distress. One thing is clear, that the efficiency of the State in the administration of famine relief has been

growing very markedly; and it may be stated without question that during the last great famine, in the days of Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, relief was distributed more effectively and with more discrimination than on any previous occasion.

Finally, we come to statistical arguments. Here the Government is hoist with its own petard, for the statistics are its own compilation. It might fairly claim that they are not to be regarded as absolutely trustworthy. The standard information respecting Indian population and areas is pretty accurate; but so much cannot be said for the statistics of production, upon which our critics base their conclusions. How, indeed, is it possible for a Government, which is left by the exigencies of administration with little money to spare, to ascertain the actual produce of such a country as India? Little or no assistance can be obtained from private individuals; the cultivators are generally illiterate and suspicious; and the understatement of their produce has, from time immemorial, been their defence against enhancements of land-revenue. The district officials are asked to spend some of their leisure time in cutting and weighing a few crops annually; but the estimates which they submit are, for the most part, based upon figures supplied by native subordinates, and generally understate very substantially the production of the country. Nevertheless the figures, taken as they stand, afford no proof that the average produce per head, however low it may appear, is actually decreasing; indeed, as shown by Lord Curzon in his budget speech of March 1901, a comparison of averages indicates that during the past twenty years there has been a small but decided increase.

There is then no justification for statements that the people must be growing poorer, or are actually on the down grade. On the other hand, no one with Indian experience, with powers of observation, and a sense of fairness, would hesitate to admit that, in spite of famine losses, the people are gradually raising their standard of comfort. That the labourer should be decently clothed is the rule and not the exception, as it was in many parts of the country twenty years ago; personal ornaments are more in evidence than formerly; and the rapidly increasing use made of the Post Office and the railways

indicates that there is more money to spare. But by far the most important fact is a very marked rise in the rate of wages, to which employers of all classes will regretfully testify. It is largely due to the great extension of manufacturing enterprise, involving increased demand for mill-hands, which is forced upon the attention of the most casual traveller by the forest of factory chimneys bristling on the outskirts of Bombay and Calcutta and springing up at some inland places. Labour is greatly in demand for the tea and the mining industries ; and the enormous sums of money which of recent years have been paid to the cultivators of jute represent in great measure an asset which is entirely new to the country. If we wish to make use of statistical arguments, we shall find some to our purpose in the growth of the import trade by 70 per cent. during the past twenty years, and in the absorption of gold and silver by the country at the rate of some 20,000,000/- a year.

Yet, although to a common-sense view, it is obvious that India is gradually improving her resources, the fact remains that the people are exceedingly poor. A social life of much complexity is supported by the scantiest of incomes —a contrast vividly brought out by M. Piriou. The soil is generally by no means so fertile as some writers find it to their interest to maintain. An illustrative fact is that in Egypt cotton produces fivefold its Indian average. The people are bound down to customs which impede the accumulation of capital. The Muhammadans hold it immoral to accept interest for money lent. An immense number of people, poor as well as rich, are rigidly debarred from contributing to the produce of the country. There are ten millions of Brahmins who will set their hands to nothing but the pen ; and those who own land (and much land is held by Brahmins) would be out-casted, save in one sub-caste, if they touched the stilt of a plough. Custom directs that domestic occurrences, such as marriages and funerals, should be celebrated by an expenditure which to Europeans would seem preposterous ; a well-to-do cultivator would think little of spending a sum equivalent to seven or eight years' rental upon the marriage of each of his children ; and in Bengal the acquisition of a bridegroom involves such expensive negotiations that a large family of daughters is one of the greatest mis-

fortunes. The charity which is so admirable an Indian trait is very demoralising. Hordes of mendicants live upon the producing classes ; and a man would be disgraced who refused to maintain a brother, sister, cousin, or nephew, whether by blood or marriage. With an income of four or five pounds a month, a man will have a score of dependants clinging to him, finding shelter in his house, and sharing the family meals.

But poverty is in India less absorbing, less degrading, than in colder countries ; and, amidst all its struggles for subsistence, the poorest household maintains its family ties and sympathies and diversifies its family life with a constant succession of little fêtes and ceremonies. If interests are narrowed to the family, the caste, or the village, they gain in intensity by the concentration ; and the most distinctive features of Indian society are the affection of the father for his children, pride in the caste, however low it be, and the close interdependence of the lives that are associated within the village. In his volume of essays Mr Abdullah Yusuf Ali, with a remarkable mastery of the English language, and with the rarer advantage of a style which is literary and picturesque, introduces us to the Indian town, the village, and the homestead ; and, if his descriptions indicate that life in town and country is unstirred by political aspirations and prejudices, they enforce the conviction that the home and the caste afford a continuous series of such interests and amusements as with Englishmen have passed away with the days of childhood.

Some writers, among them Mr R. C. Dutt, are briefed to maintain that poverty would be mitigated were the land revenue assessments permanently fixed throughout the country, as they have been in Bengal since the end of the eighteenth century. These assessments contribute about three-eighths of the annual net income of the State ; they consist, in fact, of a share of the rental, levied on the principle—of immemorial antiquity in India—that the State is part-proprietor of the soil, and is entitled to a substantial share of landlords' profits. The State share of these profits, which under the Muhammadans was as high as four-fifths, has gradually been reduced till it now stands at less than a half. The actual amount of the State demand is fixed according to a calculation of rent

which is made, generally speaking, at intervals of thirty years. In 1798, by a decision which has not been followed in other provinces, the amount due from Bengal was fixed for all time, with the result that the State is the poorer by several millions annually.

It is claimed that this concession to the landlords of Bengal has not only rendered this province more prosperous and more loyal than others, but has actually protected it from the visitations of famine. These statements are without foundation. The actual cultivator of the land, and the farm labourer, are quite as poor in Bengal as elsewhere. It was hoped by the authors of the Permanent Settlement that the tenants, at least, would share in the fruits of this liberality; but, since no practical measures were taken for the protection of tenants, they have been exhaustively rack-rented; and a very elaborate Act, passed for their benefit some twenty years ago, was forged too late in the day to be really effective. Bengal, like other provinces, exhibits very few traces of the expenditure of landlords' capital for the improvement of the land or for the benefit of the tenantry. What, then, has become of the money which the State has resigned? It has been scrapped amongst an enormous number of middlemen who intervene between the landlord and the cultivator, and has in fact benefited, not these classes, but others who are parasitical upon them. It is not uncommon to find a dozen of these intermediaries, each holding from the one next above him in the scale of subinfeudation.

The Permanent Settlement has, then, increased, not the profits of landlords, but their number. The contention that it has bred loyalty in Bengal needs no refutation in present circumstances. The idea that it has averted famines, preposterous in itself, is contradicted by facts. Bengal, lying towards the east of the Indian continent, ordinarily enjoys a more copious and regular rainfall than the northern and western provinces. But, since 1870, the monsoon current has twice failed to reach its most western districts; and on both occasions a large proportion of the inhabitants were maintained at the cost of the State. Only last year the occurrence of floods entailed the grant of relief upon a considerable scale. There is nothing to warrant the assumption that direct

taxation, in the form of land-revenue, is out of accord with the substantial interests of the people. But direct taxation is as unpopular in India as in France ; to increase at a blow the expenses of thousands of persons is open to serious political objections ; and it is not improbable that revenue assessments will tend to become fixed, and that the State will be compelled to look to customs duties for an expansion of its income.

Passing now to the question of Indian discontent, which during the past year has attracted much more attention than its poverty, we must understand that it is no new thing that the Government of India should be denounced. The native press, whether published in English or the vernacular, has generally been a hostile critic, and has at times expressed its hostility in very seditious language. During the last quarter of a century the Indian National Congress has been established—a congress which, attended by as many of the educated classes as will pay their railway fares, or can get them defrayed by subscription, meets annually at various places to criticise the methods of government and to demand changes. There is, of course, nothing to surprise us in this. No Government is pleasing to all its subjects ; an alien Government cannot hope to be so, and is of course exposed to attack by some inherent weaknesses. It can command little of the support which comes from a feeling of personal pride in the State ; and our Empire in India is radically weaker than the Roman in that it cannot leaven public feeling by the plantation of colonies.

If, as is true, British influence is strengthened by the gross misrule from which it relieved India, it must lose weight as memory fades, and as the British officer is regarded less as a protector than as a ruler. Moreover, the difficulties of the Indian Empire must increase as the people grow in prosperity ; they have been enhanced in a peculiar degree by our educational policy. With a conscientious disregard of inconvenient consequences, we have made English literature the staple food of schoolboys and students, and have introduced them to a history and a philosophy which supply arguments in abundance against the acceptance of an alien rule. Their studies have been leavened by no religion, and by no morality based upon religion, and, while undermining old beliefs,

offer nothing in place of them. Our ambitions have not been limited by our means; and schools and colleges have been multiplied without regard to the quality of the teachers or the possibilities of inspection. Not only are the young imbued with ideas which, though vivifying in words, are foreign to their real feelings and aspirations; a large educated class has sprung up for which the circumstances of the country offer no adequate employment. The rules of caste and custom limit their horizon to Government service, teaching, the law, or journalism; and those who cannot find a livelihood in these pursuits live discontentedly upon their relatives. Our legal system and procedure appeal very strongly to the gambling spirit which is inherent in all humanity; and of private professions the Bar is by far the most popular and remunerative. Even in the country-towns pleaders are to be numbered by the score; their intimate connexion with the domestic quarrels of the people affords them great influence; and the lawyer has become the most characteristic feature of modern Indian society. In attacking the Government he naturally finds the best means of exhibiting—and of advertising—his forensic talents. In the background of his audience the old-fashioned India, so charmingly described by M. Piriou, led by the family priest, has come to listen, not without pride in the accomplishments of her emancipated son, but uneasily conscious that these new ideas are fatal to the old religion and to established influences, and resentful towards the Government that introduced them.

That large numbers of young Indians should annually come to England to qualify for the Bar, or to compete for admission to the Indian Civil Service, in no way contributes to the stability of the situation. Generally, they pass their time in this country amidst squalid surroundings and carry back to their homes few elevating experiences, and no enhanced respect for the race which is responsible for the well-being of their country. That a portion of the British Empire should be self-governing does not make for the contentedness of the portion which is governed. A further complication is introduced by the presence in the House of Commons of a number of gentlemen upon whom any agitation can depend for general sympathy and for the advertisement of its case by means

of questions in Parliament. These questions continually infuse fresh life into opposition ; they are repeated from one end of India to the other, and give disloyalty the credit of possessing friends at court.

But there is a brighter side. We can congratulate ourselves upon the fact that English education, in its higher developments, has distinctly raised the tone of public morality and has endowed the country with a staff of native officials, judicial and executive, who are intellectually capable, and who discharge their functions with honesty. We must admire the wonderful facility with which Western learning has been assimilated, to such purpose that Indians can compete successfully with Europeans in all branches of knowledge. And, if the yeast we have thrown produces fermentation, with the usual accompaniments of fermentation, it makes for satisfaction that the stagnation of the East should be disturbed by forces which may in the end raise its people to a higher plane. So far, in truth, they have wrought but little change in the Oriental character. Its divorce of words from deeds, of expression from feeling, is a commonplace with those who have Indian experience. The man who denounces the Government as a thing accursed will, in the next breath, solicit a Government appointment for his son. An ardent platform-advocate of widow re-marriage would feel libelled by an insinuation that he would put his professions into practice. A Bengalee who, while reading for the English Bar, has found grace in Herbert Spencer, will, on returning to Calcutta, seek readmission to his family by undergoing an expiatory ceremony of a ludicrous and, in idea, disgusting character. He would be scandalised by a suggestion that he should seek a bridegroom for his daughter outside the limits of particular sub-castes ; he will marry her when hardly out of babyhood, and will condemn her to a life of contempt should her husband leave her a baby widow. How significant is the fact that Indian politicians should have deliberately discarded from their programme any attempts at social reform ! They are shy of changes which would affect the *actions* of their lives.

Their declamations are, then, not to be taken very seriously ; indeed, until quite recently, they have not been taken seriously by their fellow-countrymen ; and it

is for this reason that an unbridled press has exercised but little influence outside the schoolboy circle. Moreover, enthusiasms in the East are extraordinarily evanescent. Propaganda against the killing of kine, underground exhibitions of sympathy with Russia, mysterious currents of feeling evidenced by the circulation of Indian equivalents for the 'Fiery Cross,' have passed from activity into nothingness without disturbing the quietude of the Indian masses. The National Congress itself, which owed its origin, as it owes its apotheosis, to British officials disappointed in their careers, rapidly dissipated its early enthusiasms in the quarrels of its representatives ; and its meetings, until lately, have been attended rather for social than for political reasons. So far, it is still true that the Oriental expects to be governed, and that his hope is to be governed with fairness. Just and sympathetic rule he acknowledges by a personal loyalty which, were it not stunted by the over-frequent transfers of officers, would be a most fruitful asset of the State.

To what, then, are we to ascribe the recent ebullition of anti-British feeling? The cause must be one which affects Egypt as well as India, and is probably to be found in the marvellous successes of the Japanese against a Power which, in the East, has always been accepted as the type of Western aggressiveness. It goes without saying that our allies have not deliberately contributed to the unrest; indeed they have plainly disavowed any sympathy with it. That, however, the victories of the Japanese have appealed very strongly to the Oriental imagination is shown by the emphasis with which they have been referred to by the native press, and by the very marked increase in the number of Indian students who resort to Japan instead of to England to complete their education. Feelings have been aroused which are swift to take hold of local grievances.

In Bengal themes were afforded to agitators by Lord Curzon's measures for the improvement of education and for the partition of that Province. Both these measures were designed for, and will conduce to, the public good; both interfered with vested interests. Some of the leading Bengalee politicians, and a vast number of persons of lesser note, make their livelihood by the maintenance of schools and colleges. Education in India

consists very largely in cramming pupils for various university examinations, the results of which are watched with extraordinary interest by native society. A pass in each grade commands a definite and very substantial value in the marriage market, regulating the price which the boy's father can command from the father of the girl he marries. Reforms which would raise the standard of university examinations would lessen the number of those who passed them, and would affect not only the profits of schoolmasters, but the order of social life.

The partition of Bengal was also acutely resented by the educated Hindus. They perceived that the grant of a separate government to a tract in which Muhammadans preponderated must tend to deprive them of their existing monopoly of influence and office. Moreover, social interests were here also involved; for, strange though it may seem, and however inconsistent with the 'National' professions of the Congress party, the creation of a new provincial boundary was likely to narrow the limits within which negotiations could be opened for the procuring of bridegrooms. In ordinary times these measures would have been grumbly accepted by the classes who disliked them; on this occasion they were used to illustrate the degraded position of the Indian people at the feet of an alien Government.

In the Panjab the causes of discontent are similar. The agitators found to their hand in this Province distrust of some projected legislation and anxiety as to the result of some operations for the reassessment of land revenue. Neither measure was of an exceptional or unusual character, or would ordinarily have explained such violence as was exhibited at Ráwal Pindi.

The influence of the agitators was immensely enhanced by the idea that the Government was afraid of them. For the first time in the history of British India the people observed with astonishment that the Government would tolerate the expression of gross disloyalty in deeds as well as in words. For some weeks after the partition of Bengal had been announced, the mob took possession of the streets of Calcutta, and hindered respectable persons from purchasing what they pleased, and even from sending their children to school. The Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province, who endeavoured to check

the spread of this disorder, was thrown overboard. The agitators were well aware of the issue of confidential circulars checking the local authorities from prosecuting for sedition. Add to these incentives the delight which stump-oratory affords to a talkative race, the fun of defying a Government that made no reprisals, and we have sufficient to account for an agitation which, however childish in its ideals, might have kindled into flame the smouldering spark of irritation, and led the country through a fiery trial such as it has not known since the Mutiny.

For immediate remedies the situation requires nothing more than that the State should discharge its elementary duties of maintaining the public peace, securing the liberties of individuals, checking the display of illegal sedition in the press and on the platform, and, above all, protecting schoolboys against infection. In the Panjab sedition has yielded up its unsubstantial popularity to the firmness of Government. In Bengal improvement can hardly be expected so long as Calcutta is allowed to remain a workshop of intrigue. Delay has necessitated the limited use of some special measures; it has also involved large numbers in punishment, not only of those who were associated with the agitation, but of those—the Muhammadans—who resented its methods, and, failing the protection of the law, asserted their rights by force. It has become necessary to punish; it would have been better to prevent; and it may well be that the preventive authority of the Government needs strengthening, and that in particular the press should be more closely and systematically watched, so that breaches of the law may not pass unnoticed. We trust to hear no more of the proposals strenuously advocated by the National Congress, which, under the misleading title of the 'separation of the judicial from the executive,' would weaken the preventive authority of the district magistrate. This innovation has surely found its obsequies in the distracting events of the past year.

Must we limit our efforts to the repression of extravagant manifestations of discontent? Are there no measures of conciliation by which we may hope to win the feelings of the class that is opposed to us? It is unfortunately the case that Orientals, like other races nearer home,

have no appreciation of compromise; to give and take is, with them, repugnant to logic and sentiment; and negotiations with an opponent are simply a means of securing an advantage over him. No concession that we can possibly make will mollify the severity of our critics. That natives are not largely employed in the higher grades of the public service is one of the stock grievances of the party of discontent; yet for several years past a large proportion of eastern Bengal has been committed entirely to native hands, the staff of several districts, from top to bottom, having been exclusively Indian. As the officials are for the most part Hindu, the Muhammadans have objected very strongly to this extension of native authority. The Hindus, on their part, have displayed no gratitude for it.

Concessions, as a political expedient, are ineffective in India, while, as illustrated by the results of our educational policy, they may strengthen very greatly the forces that are politically opposed to us. Nevertheless, it proceeds from our responsibilities to the country that we should act liberally as well as efficiently, and that we should concern ourselves not only with present well-being, but with future development, not shrinking from reforms because they may have awkward consequences for us, or despairing of them because their ultimate effect cannot be clearly foreseen. Only let it be remembered that, in this uncertainty as to the eventual outcome of our guardianship, we cannot expect to discern our course far ahead by the light of general principles of policy, and must be content to feel our way step by step as the exigencies of the day disclose themselves. Indian policy must be opportunist; and for this reason it can afford but limited interest to the general public.

Whatever be the ultimate aspirations of 'New India,' her eyes are fixed upon the loaves and fishes of office, and in particular upon such as are in the hands of Englishmen. The vast majority of magisterial, revenue, and civil courts are, at present, presided over by natives of the country. The staff of a good-sized district will include seven or eight full-powered magisterial courts, and rather more than this number of civil courts; and, in ordinary circumstances, only three of all these tribunals, at the outside, will be occupied by members of the Indian Civil

Service—the chief or district magistracy, the district judgeship, and a magistracy committed to a junior member of the service, who may be regarded as being under training for the higher posts. A considerable number of natives of India, especially natives of Bengal, have won their way by examination into the Indian Civil Service; and hence it has come about that several districts of Bengal have, for some time past, been entirely in native hands. The high courts have always been open to natives who have proved at the Bar their fitness for the highest judicial office; and in the Calcutta High Court two or three judgeships are ordinarily held by natives. Of the local courts, the posts of district magistrate and district judge stand on a higher plane than the others, because their occupants are expected to supervise the working of the other criminal and civil courts of the district, as well as to adjudicate upon cases that come before them. The district magistrate has, moreover, responsibilities which oblige him to take action upon his own initiative for the prevention of crime or disorder. It is, then, of the utmost importance that these posts should be held by men of good judgment and independence of character; and originally they were strictly reserved for members of the Indian Civil Service. Native members of this service have, of course, always been eligible for appointment to them, and have been appointed to them; and, for some time past, a certain number of them have been thrown open to natives of the country, who (not being members of the Indian Civil Service) have shown marked capacity in judicial work. It cannot, therefore, any longer be said that no native can rise to be chief magistrate or chief judge of a district unless he has passed by open competition into the Indian Civil Service.

In so far as this new departure has admitted more natives of the country to the position of chief district magistrate, it has not been of advantage to the country. The initiative action which, on occasions, it falls to this officer to take, exposes him to much more bitter criticism than is incurred by the decision of cases in the ordinary routine of judicial work. Partiality is imputed to him if he has any concern whatever with the persons or classes for or against whom he moves. If he is a Hindu, he will be

suspected by the Muhammadans; if he is a Muhammadan, by the Hindus. Natives of the country are naturally more sensitive to public opinion, and more liable to personal or sectional bias, than Englishmen; they seldom gain popular confidence in the post of district magistrate, and indeed show no great ambition for the office. In a country where class-feeling is so acute as in India, the detached position of the British officer is one of his strongest qualifications for authority. On the other hand, the post of district judge offers no such peculiar difficulties to a native; and it is probable that an increasing number of these posts may suitably be entrusted to native hands, especially if the high courts will attach more practical importance to the functions of administrative control and inspection which they possess.

The various other departments of Government, such as those concerned with Public Works, Forests, Surveys, Land Registration, Agriculture, and Sanitation, certainly afford wider scope for the employment of natives than has usually been recognised, especially if high-grade technical instruction be provided in India on lines which have for years past been followed in the Public Works and Medical departments, and have lately been initiated in the Agricultural department. In making appointments to technical departments the Government has at present to choose between conflicting considerations—its desire for efficiency, its duty to the country as a whole, and its wish to gratify the aspirations of the educated minority. Until technical instruction of the highest class is open to the Indian student, the interests of efficiency will be on the side of the Englishman; and it is plainly desirable that such instruction should be provided, though it may entail a considerable charge upon the public revenues. Unless, however, the policy of the day is modified in one particular, a grievance will remain. When appointments, ordinarily reserved for members of the superior English services, are thrown open to natives, it is the practice to reduce their emoluments very largely. The living expenses of a native of the country are, of course, very much less than those of a European; and it may well be argued that to pay him as highly is a waste of public money. But economy is not the object with which these concessions are made; and it is purchased

very dearly if it gives a sting to a measure the purpose of which is to conciliate. It is a question whether it is good policy to reduce the emoluments of officers in these cases, especially as natives of India who pass into the Indian Civil Service, or win their way into the high courts, are paid on the ordinary scale.

In local government, a native of India who is ambitious of public service enjoys very ample opportunities. Non-stipendiary magistrates are largely employed, a bench being appointed for every town of any size. Each rural area has its council, each town its municipal board, charged with the maintenance of roads and bridges, the organisation and control of primary education, sanitation, and the care of hospitals and dispensaries, besides a host of minor functions. On these councils and boards natives are in a great majority; and a substantial proportion—sometimes the larger proportion—of the native members are elected by the ratepayers. These local bodies accomplish much useful work; and, if zeal is sometimes lacking or is dissipated in party feeling, if discussion is not always free from triviality, and if public money is sometimes wasted, it is not only in India that local government disappoints enthusiastic expectation.

It is, then, absurd to imagine that the people of India can find no scope for energy or ambition in the public business of their country. This business is indeed for the most part in native hands; and in matters of local government native authority can expand itself almost indefinitely if there is public spirit to give an impulse. But, it may be said, the service of the State, whether salaried or unsalaried, whether in Imperial or local affairs, is, after all, only a matter of machinery. What share do the natives of the country enjoy in the political power which moves the machinery? They can and do exercise a great deal of power through the provincial legislative councils, upon which they are, of course, strongly represented, not only by Government nomination, but also by election. It is perhaps inevitable, in present conditions, that the elections should fall into the hands of small caucuses, and should almost invariably result in the return of prominent members of the legal profession, who, partly from reasons of sentiment, partly to exhibit independence, and partly for self-advertisement, take up

an attitude of permanent opposition to the Government, and limit their efforts to destructive criticism. Criticism is wholesome, and the right of interpellation (which is very freely exercised) has, on the whole, borne salutary fruit; by means of it the elected members of council influence very materially the executive action of the Government. In legislation they naturally side with the class they represent, and strenuously oppose any measure which is calculated to lessen the opportunities of the rich or the influence of lawyers.

Such a moderate addition to the number of the elected members of these councils as Mr Morley has foreshadowed is a reasonable concession to the spirit of the day; and leaving generally, as it will, a majority at the command of the executive Government, it will not block the way to philanthropic legislation, though it will add to the difficulties by which the progress of such legislation is now impeded. For it must be realised that the elected members of these councils in no sort of way represent the people as a whole. Even supposing that a system could be devised under which elected members could speak for a majority of the population, representative government would in India be but the organising of oppression. In the absence of a certain community of feeling between majorities and minorities, government by majority must result in injustice. There is no such community in India, where, apart from the standing divergence between Muhammadans and Hindus, society is split up into hundreds of exclusive compartments. The rigid limitation of marriage within the caste has resulted in the appropriation to the caste not only of habits of life and methods of livelihood, but even, in great measure, of particular attributes of human nature. In so heterogeneous a society no sympathy for others would temper the authority of the party in power.

But, while no section of the community can, without injustice, be entrusted with supreme political power, it is essential that each section should have opportunities of making its wishes known. The elected members of Council give sufficient expression to the spirit which has been born of English education; the district officers of Government—to their credit, be it said—can generally be trusted to represent the interests of the poor; the

Council of Notables, which is now to be established, will maintain the claims of birth and position, and may assist in refining the crude aspirations of lawyers and journalists. Its most useful function will be to initiate legislation for social reform, since its members, with less zeal than that of the few enthusiasts who have ventured to grapple with this difficult question, will grasp more clearly the actual possibilities of improvement.

There is, indeed, much to be said for a further step—the addition of two native members to the Viceroy's Executive Council. The seven members who constitute this council are all Englishmen. It is likely enough that a native element would not add to the efficiency of the council, and that in certain circumstances it might indeed be embarrassing, as, for instance, by the divulging of confidential information. But the feelings of the governed are but partially conciliated by the efficiency of the Government; and there can be little doubt that the admission of natives to the highest council in the land would identify the Government more closely with the people, and would definitely answer the complaint that natives of the country, while permitted to administer, are not allowed to govern. Nor should we disregard the great effect upon native sentiment of the enjoyment by their fellow-countrymen of the salutes, which are, for the crowd, the most prominent distinction of members of the Viceroy's Council.

Mr Morley's decision to include two natives of India on the Secretary of State's Council will be of less efficacy in creating that feeling of pride in the Government which would be the weightiest of all counterpoises to revolutionary agitation; but it is a statesmanlike recognition of the claims of sentiment. Our undoubted success in administering Eastern countries is imperilled from time to time by our constitutional indifference to other people's feelings; and there is probably nothing that would go farther to popularise our rule than greater attention on the part of our officers to matters which affect the dignity or self-respect of those around them. For the rest, British rule in India has some years before it if it will do justice, keep its powder dry, and stick to its friends.

Art. X.—THE LAND POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

1. *The Small Holdings and Allotments Bill, 1907.*
2. *The Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill, 1907.*
3. *The Land Values (Scotland) Bill, 1907.*
4. *The Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Bill, 1907.*
5. *Report of the Departmental Committee on Small Holdings.* [Cd. 3277, 3278.] London : Wyman, 1906.
6. *Return of the number of Agricultural Holdings in each County of Great Britain.* [Cd. 3408.] London : Wyman, 1907.
7. *Report of the Select Committee on the Land Values Taxation (Scotland) Bill of 1906.* Commons Paper 379 of 1906. London : Wyman, 1906.
8. *Land Reform : Occupying Ownership, Peasant Proprietary, and Rural Education.* By the Right Hon. Jesse Collings, M.P. London : Longmans, 1906.
9. *The Organisation of Agriculture.* By E. A. Pratt. London : Murray, 1904.
10. *The Transition in Agriculture.* By E. A. Pratt. London : Murray, 1906.
11. *The Small Holdings of England.* By L. Jebb. London : Murray, 1907.

WHATEVER amendments may be made in the Government Small Holdings and Valuation Bills, it is in the original versions of these essays in legislation that the land policy of the Government is most fully portrayed. Thus interpreted, that policy, in brief, is found to consist in the multiplication of small holdings and allotments, and the relief of owners and occupiers of houses from their fair share of local taxation, chiefly by means of the exploitation of landowners and farmers.

Although the two Small Holdings Bills for England and Scotland respectively differ greatly in details, their leading principles are identical, so far as the plan of carrying out changes supposed to be for the national advantage, mainly at the expense of the owners and existing occupiers of land, is concerned ; but, whereas it is proposed that the expenses of administering the English measure, and possible losses under it, shall be defrayed almost entirely by the ratepayers, the Treasury is called upon to meet the corresponding outgoings in Scotland.

In both countries the plan is that of letting land to small holders, though on entirely different terms, and not that of establishing a peasant-proprietary; but, while the English Bill provides for the voluntary or compulsory purchase as well as the hiring of land, the Scottish measure relates to hiring alone. Again, whereas under the English Bill the land is to be purchased or hired, upon terms fixed by agreement or arbitration, by a local authority in order to let it to small holders under the Agricultural Holdings Acts, the Scottish Bill requires it to be let, at the bidding of Government Commissioners, by the owner directly to small holders under the 'three F's, as administered by a Land Court.' While the English landowner may be compelled to lease land to a local authority for as many terms as the latter may desire, and is made liable to the payment of a possibly enormous sum in compensation for buildings and other improvements on hired land returned to him at the end of a lease, the Scottish landlord becomes a mere rent-charger to a number of small tenants, at the mercy of a Land Court, for all future time, since the small holders are entitled to assign or bequeath their holdings. Under both Bills existing farmers, with certain exceptions and uncertain provisions as to the compensation of those who will be affected, are rendered liable to be deprived of parts or the whole of the farms which are their means of livelihood, in order that small holders may be set up in business in their stead.

Before describing the principal provisions of the two Bills, and commenting upon the changes which they would produce in our system of land tenure, if passed as originally introduced, it is desirable to state briefly how the law stands at present in reference to the providing of small holdings and allotments. With the necessary modifications as to authorities and a few details of administration, the provisions for Scotland, apart from those relating to crofters, are identical with those for England and Wales.

The definition of a small holding is a piece of land over one acre and not exceeding fifty acres, or, if over the latter area, not in excess of 50*l.* in annual value. An allotment under the Allotments Act of 1887 was limited to one acre; and, although the Local Government Act of

1894 authorised the letting of an allotment or allotments up to the extent of four acres to one person, there has not been any formal change in the definition.

County councils (including county borough councils) are empowered to purchase land, by voluntary agreement only, for the purpose of creating small holdings. They can hire it only where, through its proximity to a town or other circumstances, its prospective value is too high for its purchase to be desirable. Any land acquired may be divided into small holdings and adapted for them by means of any fencing, road-making, drainage, water-supply, building, and other improvements that may seem desirable. The general plan for the disposal of the holdings is that of sale; but, where persons desirous of cultivating such holdings are not able to purchase them, a county council may let any holding not over fifteen acres in extent, or, if exceeding that area, not over 15*l.* in annual value. Whether sold or let, the terms of disposal are to be such as appear likely to cover all outlay by the local authority; and in no case is there any warrant for exceeding the limit of a penny rate in the pound.

The purchaser of a small holding is required to pay down one-fifth of the purchase-money within one month of the acceptance of his offer; if the county council think fit, one-fourth may be secured by a perpetual, but redeemable, rent-charge; and the balance is to be repaid by half-yearly instalments of principal and interest within any period not exceeding fifty years that may be agreed upon, provided that the council may allow an extension of not over five years in the payment of any instalment, in consideration of valuable improvements made by the small holder. Among the restrictions upon an occupier of a holding provided by a county council for twenty years after the date of sale, and thereafter so long as any of the purchase-money remains unpaid, are those prohibiting division, assignment, or letting without the council's consent, and the erection of more than one dwelling on a holding. Under similar terms as to repayment, a county council may advance four-fifths of the purchase-money of any small holding which an occupier may purchase by agreement with his landlord, provided that the council be satisfied with the title and the price.

Loans may be acquired by county councils from the

Public Works Loan Commissioners at not less than 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* per cent. per annum, to be repaid in not more than fifty years. There is no compulsion upon these authorities to provide small holdings, nor is there any provision for an appeal to a central authority to take action in their stead. All that is obligatory is the appointment of a committee by each county council, other than the council of a county borough, to receive applications for small holdings, and to consider whether it is advisable to provide them. In the case of a county borough council this action is optional.

In the crofting parishes of the seven crofting counties of Scotland—Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland—the Crofters' Commission, established under the Crofters Act of 1886, have power to fix fair rents for crofts held on a yearly tenancy at a rent not exceeding 30*l.* per annum, to revise the rents periodically, to provide land for the enlargement of holdings to a limited extent, to deal with claims for compensation, and to authorise the resumption of the land by the landlord for certain purposes, provided that compensation be made to a dispossessed crofter by finding other land for him, or otherwise. The Act gives fixity of tenure to a crofter, so long as the statutory conditions are observed, and empowers him to bequeath his holding to any member of his family or other person who would be his heir in case of intestacy, but not to assign it.

Further, the Congested Districts Commissioners, established under the Congested Districts (Scotland) Act, 1897, having exercised the power of determining the areas in the crofting parishes which are to be regarded as congested districts, may aid and develop agriculture and other industries in various ways, provide land for division among crofters or for the enlargement of their holdings, aid the migration of crofters and cotters from congested to other districts of Scotland, and settle the migrants in fresh holdings. The Commissioners have power to purchase land and adapt it for sale in small holdings under easy terms of repayment by a terminable annuity; but there are no compulsory powers of purchase, nor any provisions as to the letting of land. Assistance may be given to crofters by gift or loan, or by providing various agricultural requirements at cost price; but the funds

for all purposes, apart from repayments of loans, consist only of 20,000*l.* annually from Parliament and 15,000*l.* from the Local Taxation Account. By voluntary co-operation between the Commissioners and a number of landlords, however, many more new crofter holdings have been established than could have been provided by the unaided powers of the former alone and by means of the funds at their disposal.

Land for allotments can at present be obtained by voluntary agreement by all classes of local authorities; it can be purchased compulsorily by county and district councils; and it can be both purchased and hired compulsorily, through the agency of county councils, by parish councils and by those parish meetings which have been authorised to act as councils. The consent of the Local Government Board is required for the confirmation of any order for the compulsory purchase or hiring of land; and, if any memorial against an order is presented, the Board must hold an enquiry, at which persons interested are entitled to be heard. If a county council refuses to make an order for compulsory purchase or hiring, the parish council may appeal to the Local Government Board, and that authority may make the order. Provisions are made for fixing by arbitration the purchase price or rent of land compulsorily acquired, for compensation to owners for severance and other disadvantages, and for compensation to tenants for depreciation in the value of the residues of their holdings when land is taken from them, as well as for what they are estimated to lose during any unexpired period of their lease or other agreement through the taking of portions or the whole of their farms from them; but nothing is allowed to owners or tenants for compulsory purchase or hiring in itself.

That the Small Holdings Act has been very slightly operative is shown in the Report of the Departmental Committee on Small Holdings. For ten years after the Act came into operation only five counties in England and one in Scotland had purchased land under it, three other counties in England having hired land for subdivision. Of the area acquired but little more than 248 acres had been sold to small holders down to the end of

1902; and since that date only two counties, both in England, have purchased land for small holdings, to the total amount of 138 acres. The principal reasons given by county councils for not applying the Act are, in effect, insufficient demand for small holdings, and the difficulty of obtaining suitable land. The Committee did not accept these reasons as sufficient; and they might well reject the latter, considering the extensive area of land publicly announced as for sale every year. On the other hand, it is not surprising that the number of persons anxious and able to purchase holdings under the terms and conditions of the Act should be comparatively small.

The Committee, however, are of opinion that one of the principal reasons for the fewness of applications has been the lack of knowledge of the machinery of the Act among the people; and they refer to the general inaction of the county council committees, who, for the most part, appear to have supposed that they were to do nothing until they received a petition for the supply of small holdings. But it is probable that many county councils were distinctly unwilling to put the Act into operation for a reason frankly expressed by one council, which had received 349 petitions. This reason was that, 'as the ratepayers were already burdened with heavy taxation, it was unfair to impose upon them the extra cost of carrying out the Act, an experiment which ought to be borne by the State.' The Committee recommend initiative action on the part of committees of county councils, more liberal terms for loans to purchasing small holders, the removal of the restriction prohibiting the erection of more than one dwelling upon a small holding, the establishment of experimental holdings in different parts of the country by the Board of Agriculture by means of State funds and compulsory powers of purchase, the promotion of co-operative associations and credit-banks, the improvement of agricultural education, an annual grant to the Agricultural Organisation Society, and loans to landowners on the lowest terms possible, for the purpose of equipping small holdings.

This last recommendation is one of the most important; and it is a great pity that it has not been adopted by the Government. The Committee were much impressed by evidence showing the willingness of many

landowners to provide small holdings, and with the repeated statement of the chief obstacle, namely, the difficulty of providing funds for buildings and other improvements. It is obvious that landowners are in a much better position for providing land with the least possible loss or inconvenience to existing occupiers and on the cheapest terms than any public authorities can be; also that action on the part of the former would not involve any loss to ratepayers or even to the State, while it would avoid many complications, hardships, and actual wrongs incidental to the acquisition of land by public authorities. It would be easy to attach to the granting of such loans conditions as to moderate rents or sale prices and reasonable terms of tenancy, while the Agricultural Holdings Acts would provide for compensation for tenants' improvements.

After the careful consideration of proposals for compulsory powers to county councils for obtaining land for small holdings, the Committee decided against them. Moreover, they did not propose any departure from the policy of the Small Holdings Act, which makes the purchase of land by small holders the rule, and its hiring the exception. No doubt they hoped that loans to landowners would provide sufficiently for the leasing of small holdings. Nor did they propose any coercion upon county councils in reference to the providing of small holdings. Ten out of eleven members of the Committee signed the Report, although one of these made a separate report, and three others made reservations. Mr Collings alone refused to sign, contributing an independent report.

Mr Collings, while agreeing with some of his colleagues' recommendations, dissented very strongly from the one which proposes loans to landowners for the equipment of small holdings. As is well known to readers of his book on 'Land Reform,' and to all who have noticed the Bills which he has prepared for Parliament at various times, he is, as he always has been, a strong advocate of occupying ownership. His arguments in favour of this system of land-tenure are well set forth in his book, as well as in his report. His main contention is that complete security for a tenant's improvements cannot be given without dual ownership, which he denounces as having been proved a failure. Consequently he will have nothing

to do with the letting of land to tenants. It should be bought outright, he thinks, by public authorities, and resold to small holders on easy terms as to the repayment of the purchase money. In addition, he would offer cheap loans to enable existing tenants, large and small alike, to purchase their farms.

Mindful, it may be supposed, of the rabid prejudice of many of their followers against landlords, whether they share it or not, the Government would not have anything to do with loans to them when framing the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill, the chief provisions of which may now be considered. They adopted the Committee's recommendation in relation to the granting of powers and State funds to the Board of Agriculture for the establishment of experimental small holdings, but without compulsory powers of purchase, as well as the proposals for allowing more than one house to be erected on a small holding, and for promoting co-operation and credit-banks; but in other respects they departed entirely from the policy of the Committee. Moreover, they have rejected the particular method of promoting co-operation and the establishment of credit banks which the Committee, after careful consideration, recommended, namely, that of endowing the Agricultural Organisation Society as the agency for the action suggested. The valuable work done by this society is well set forth in Mr Pratt's 'Transition in Agriculture,' and in his 'Organisation of Agriculture.' In these books there is also much information as to the methods by which co-operation and credit banks have been successfully established.

The Bill provides for the appointment of Commissioners under the Board of Agriculture to take the initiative in making enquiries as to the demand for small holdings in different counties, to report the results to the several local authorities, and to instruct them as to the schemes which the latter are required to prepare for submission to the Board of Agriculture. If any county council neglects to prepare a scheme within six months of the time of receiving a report from the Commissioners, the latter may prepare one, and set it in action, if the county council will not do so, charging expenses upon the defaulting authority. If a scheme be objected to by a

county council, the Board is to hold a public enquiry, at which the council and 'such other persons as the person holding the enquiry may in his discretion think fit to allow' may appear and be heard.

While leaving intact the provisions of the Small Holdings Act of 1892 as to the purchase of land by small holders, the scheme of the Government is entirely concerned with letting instead of selling to these people. It is proposed to empower every county council to purchase or hire land compulsorily for dividing into small holdings, on terms to be settled by arbitration, without any allowance for compulsory sale or letting. Such holdings may be equipped by the council under the provisions of the Act of 1892. All expenses, except when the Board thinks proper to allow those of preliminary proceedings, and any losses that may be incurred, are to fall upon the ratepayers; and power is given to the Local Government Board to relax the existing provision limiting a rate for the purposes of small holdings to a penny in the pound. It is proposed to extend the maximum period for the repayment of money borrowed by a county council to eighty years.

Land hired is to be on lease of fourteen to thirty-five years, renewable or terminable at the option of the local authority. In the event of its return to an owner at the end of a lease, he will be required to pay the local authority compensation for improvements, so far as they add to the value of the holding. Tenants of the local authority are to be entitled to compensation for their improvements on the market-garden scale. There is no limitation as to the area of land that may be taken compulsorily from an owner's estate or a tenant's farm by purchase or hiring, except that a holding created under the Small Holdings or the Allotments Act or the proposed new Act cannot be acquired. It is true that the taking of an 'undue or inconvenient quantity of land' from any one owner or tenant is to be avoided 'so far as practicable'; but there is no absolute restriction against the taking of the whole of an estate or farm apart from a park, garden, pleasure-ground or any land required for the amenity or convenience of any dwelling-house. Nor is there anything definite as to compensation to a tenant when land is hired compulsorily and taken

from him, except when a notice to quit has been given and afterwards withdrawn, in which case he is to be compensated for any loss incurred by him from the withdrawal. In the case of land purchased compulsorily, the tenant is to be compensated under the provisions of the Land Clauses Acts, which would cover only allowances in relation to the unexpired portion of a lease or the period of one year from the date at which a notice to quit would be valid in the case of a yearly tenancy.

The limit of an allotment is extended to five acres; and all allotments are to be managed by parish councils, those now in charge of district councils being handed over to the minor authorities. The provisions for compulsory purchase or hiring of land for allotments are the same as those for small holdings; but the county councils, or, in their default, the Board of Agriculture, are to make the compulsory arrangements, afterwards handing over the land to the parish council. The restriction against the erection of a house on an allotment is repealed.

To whatever extent these provisions of the Bill as originally drafted may have been modified in Committee, they remain as exemplifications of the land policy of the Government so far as small holdings and allotments for England and Wales are concerned. In considering them, the first feeling to arise is one of astonishment that it should have been deemed good policy by those who desire to multiply small holdings and allotments to arouse antagonism among county councils, landlords, sitting tenants, and ratepayers at large, to an extent that could hardly be surpassed. Such great representative bodies as county councils are not likely to submit tamely to be tutored and coerced by a central department. Landowners will naturally resent the vast extension of compulsory hiring, a method of obtaining land which never should have been allowed, even to the small extent to which previous legislation has carried it; and they have good reason to complain of the gross injustice and hardship of being compelled to let land for a local authority to cut up, build upon, and otherwise improve *ad libitum*, and then, if it is returned at the end of a lease, being made liable to pay possibly enormous sums by way of compensation. There is no extravagance in supposing that a landowner, from whom even two hundred acres of

land have been hired compulsorily, partly for small holdings and partly for allotments, might be required to pay for a hundred dwelling-houses, besides large sums for road-making, fencing, draining, and other improvements. The total sum claimed might be absolutely ruinous to owners of small or moderate means or to those whose estates are already heavily encumbered. The hardship to an owner of having part of his estate taken from him against his will is bad enough in any case; and he should at least be entitled to insist that those who take it for risky and costly experiments should purchase it outright.

It is equally outrageous to take from sitting tenants a part or the whole of their means of living in order to set smaller occupiers up in business. Even if full compensation were to be paid, to take one man's business away from him in order to hand it over to other men is a proceeding which no Government would dare to order against any other class of business men than that of the farmers. But there is no idea of such full compensation. A yearly tenant is not uncommonly practically a tenant for life; and yet, so far as is indicated by the Bill and the Acts which it partly incorporates, his compensation would be limited to his interests in the land taken during a year or a little longer. As to the ratepayers, already distressingly overburdened, they have a right to resist the imposition upon them of the administrative expenses and possible losses of a scheme proposed avowedly in the interest of the nation at large. In rural districts, moreover, the rates are mainly paid by landlords and tenant farmers, the very men whom it is proposed to injure.

There is no county in England or Wales in which plenty of land for small holdings cannot be obtained from willing sellers; and for such holdings there is no need to insist upon obtaining it in any particular parish. As for allotments, they are already numerous enough in most parts of the country, while in not a few the supply exceeds the demand. It is true that in some parishes the allotments are too far from the villages, or on land quite unsuitable to spade husbandry, or too highly rented; but there are not many in which compulsion is necessary in order to obtain land for all men who are not supplied with gardens of sufficient size. In exceptional instances

compulsory purchase for allotments might be tolerated, provided that the old definition of an allotment as a plot of land not exceeding one acre be retained; but to merge allotments into small holdings up to five acres in extent, and to allow a house to be built upon a plot of land however small, would render compulsory hiring utterly intolerable.

Highly desirable though it is to provide for industrious and thrifty farm-labourers holdings of various sizes as stepping-stones for their advancement in the scale of living, and to offer allotments at moderate rents to those who have no gardens or only very small ones, these men have no fair claim to 'pick out the eyes' of estates and farms, or to have that operation performed for them by public authorities. It is particularly obnoxious to allow such petty authorities as parish councils, whose policy is often ruled by a man or a clique capable of showing a special spite against a local landowner or farmer, to take the initiative in such an invidious procedure. A farm-labourer or village artisan has no better claim than an ordinary farmer to have a holding provided for him in the parish of his birth. The former, like the latter, should be expected to obtain land where it is to be had without wrong to any one in possession. A Farmers' Eviction Bill comes with a very bad grace from the Government that carried a measure last year to provide compensation to farmers for capricious eviction, and that now proposes to restore to their holdings in Ireland tenants who were rightly evicted on account of their deliberate and persistent refusal to pay their rents. The contrast between the harsh treatment of sitting tenants in Great Britain and the undeserved indulgence extended to evicted tenants in Ireland by the Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Bill is one of the most striking features of the Government's land policy.

It is the boast of the Government that there is nothing of the nature of 'charity rents' or other allowances in the measure under notice. That, however, remains to be proved. If the single arbitrator appointed by the Board of Agriculture to fix the rent of any farm hired compulsorily by a local authority puts the amount too low, it will be in effect a 'charity rent,' and will allow of similarly low rents being charged on holdings into which the

farm will be divided. Apart from this consideration, moreover, it may easily be imagined what will happen in many cases, if local authorities fulfil the injunction to charge rents which cover all their outgoings in providing small holdings. Farming is so slightly profitable that it will be impossible for many small holders to obtain a living if they have to pay rents high enough to cover the great cost of equipping their holdings and the expenses of administration as well. Particularly capable men, and others very favourably situated, may do well, while others may be confidently expected to fail. In the latter case an outcry against exorbitant rents will be certain to be raised; an agitation or actual legislation for their reduction will follow; and the difference will come out of the ratepayers' pockets.

One great evil in relation to the compulsory providing of small holdings is that it will establish them much more numerously and quickly than is warranted by the demand for their produce. The great majority of small holders who occupy less than fifty acres pay their way only by means of the local retail sale of their products, or by earning money apart from their land, as by carting for hire or working on large farms for wages. Now it is obvious that the number of the retail-sellers of produce, including that of market-gardens and fruit-plantations, may easily become too large, to the ruin of old and new competitors for local customers alike. This is true also with respect to those who earn money by carting on the roads. There is more scope for occupiers of a few acres, and particularly for small pastoral holdings, which can be managed, with the assistance of their families, by men who work regularly, or almost regularly, on large farms; but in any given district it would be possible to overstock the labour market with this class of small holders.

Much may be learnt from Miss Jebb's very interesting book on 'Small Holdings' as to the conditions under which such holdings succeed; and, although the author is obviously in favour of an increase of them where they are likely to prove remunerative, while, as is always the case with visitors, she was told more about large returns of various products than about small ones or failures, useful warnings are given as to the risk of overdoing

some classes of production. In Mr Pratt's book on 'The Transition in Agriculture,' and in his 'Organisation of Agriculture' also, there is a mass of valuable information upon these and other branches of the subject.

Unreasonable, unfair, and oppressive though some of the provisions of the English Bill are, those of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill are still worse. The latter Bill, indeed, embodies a revolution in Scottish land tenure, the introduction of which is all the more inexcusable in consideration of the fact that nothing of the kind has ever been demanded by any considerable body of the people. An emanation from the brains of a few political faddists, the Bill came upon the country as 'a bolt out of the blue,' and was received with more astonishment than alarm as a preposterous measure which had no chance of passing through Parliament. When it was seen that the Government intended, if possible, to force it upon the country, and that the Secretary for Scotland was bent upon maintaining its most objectionable features, it met with a storm of denunciation throughout the north. From every point of view it is one of the most injudicious measures ever introduced into Parliament.

In brief, the Bill removes some of the limitations and safeguards of the Crofters and Congested Districts Acts, and extends their provisions to the whole of Scotland. These provisions may be reasonable and fair in the case of holdings upon which the occupiers have erected their dwellings, and carried out any improvements made upon them, and in districts where the population was distressingly congested. But they are now to be extended to the rest of Scotland, where the landlords have erected the dwelling-houses and buildings and made other permanent improvements, and other conditions entirely differ.

The Bill extends the limit of a holding to come under such provisions from 30*l.* annual rental to 50*l.* or to 50 acres, however much more than 50*l.* the rent may be. It repeals also the restriction against the assignment of a holding, allowing such a transfer to any person to whom a crofter's holding can be bequeathed under the provisions of the Crofters Act of 1886; and other restrictions and limitations are likewise abolished. The Bill transfers the powers and duties of the Crofters and Congested

Districts Commissioners to a Land Court and Agricultural Commissioners for the whole of Scotland ; entitles one or the other of these new authorities to hire land compulsorily, to foist upon the owner tenants of their own selection, to fix and adjust rents, to enlarge existing small holdings, and to equip holdings by means of loans or gifts. Every small landholder is to have fixity of tenure ; and yet he is to be entitled to throw his holding upon the hands of his landlord, and to claim compensation for improvements. Even then the landlord is not to be allowed, without the consent of the Land Court, to let the holding to any one but a neighbouring small landholder or to a new one.

Every existing crofter or yearly agricultural or horticultural tenant in Scotland occupying not more than 50 acres or paying not more than 50*l.* in rent will, if the Bill passes into law, become a landholder under its provisions as soon as it comes into operation, and every leaseholder under these limitations at the termination of his lease. That is to say, the holder of not over 50 acres, whatever his rent may be, and the holder of any acreage rented at not more than 50*l.* come under the Bill. Therefore a market-gardener or fruit-grower in the most fertile part of the Lothians, occupying 50 acres, rented possibly at 250*l.*, or even more, will be treated to the indulgences at present limited to crofters. It is true that, as first drafted, the Bill stipulated that a 'landholder,' as defined in it, must reside on his holding, and cultivate it by himself or his family ; but these restrictions have been removed in Committee.

It is beyond measure astonishing that any responsible politician should propose to introduce into Scotland the system of land tenure discredited and discarded in Ireland, and now in course of being replaced, at an enormous cost to the nation, by the purchase of their holdings by tenants under the Land Purchase Act. There is in the Bill a limitation to one of the 'three F's,' namely, free sale, the right to assign a holding being allowed only in the case of relatives who could inherit a deceased holder's property in case of intestacy. This limitation is of little value, as it allows of an extensive choice in most cases, and it is certain to be removed if the measure ever gets into operation. The dual owner-

ship to which landlords so strongly object is not rendered any the less obnoxious by permitting a tenant to sell his holding only to relatives, especially where the tenant himself has not been selected by the landlord.

The Agricultural Commissioners, by consent of the Land Court, may take land compulsorily from any sitting tenant occupying over 150 acres, provided that, if held on a lease in force at Whitsunday, 1906, it is not to be taken until the end of the leased period. Compensation, at the discretion of the Land Court, is to be paid to the dispossessed tenant; and there is provision for compensating a landlord for damage done by severance.

In spite of the strongest possible protests by representative bodies of Scottish landowners and farmers, the Secretary for Scotland has persisted in retaining the provision of this Bill empowering him at any time, with the consent of the Treasury, to transfer to the Agricultural Commissioners any of the powers and duties now exercisable in or in reference to Scotland by the Board of Agriculture. Such an order is, indeed, to be laid before Parliament; and, if either House, within two months, presents an address to his Majesty against it or any part of it, no further proceedings are to be taken thereon, though a new order may be submitted. But the Bill itself provides that one of the most important duties of the Board of Agriculture—the collection and preparation of agricultural statistics—shall be transferred to the Agricultural Commissioners, who, moreover, are to be ‘charged with the general duty of promoting the interests of agriculture, forestry, and other rural industries in Scotland.’ It is intolerable that the Board should thus be deprived of a large part of its jurisdiction over agricultural affairs so far as Scotland is concerned, in opposition to the wishes of Scottish agriculturists. In relation to cattle diseases, such a separation of powers might have financial consequences extremely injurious to the farmers of Scotland.

There is no country in the world in which there is less excuse for a law of the character proposed in this Bill than Scotland. In the first place, there is no country in which the landlords, in proportion to area, have spent more in permanent improvements; secondly, there is no country in which the transactions between landlords and

tenants are more thoroughly upon a commercial footing; and, in the last place, there is no country in which the demand for small holdings is less than it is in Scotland. Consequently, to take land compulsorily from owners, to subject them to the vagaries of a Land Court, to select tenants for them, and to deprive existing farmers of parts of their means of livelihood in order to establish new occupiers, is nothing short of an atrocity in land tenure legislation, and will make the very idea of small holdings and allotments stink in the nostrils of land-owners and farmers, many of whom have been hitherto among their strongest supporters.

Some idea of the extent to which the Bill may be operative is to be obtained from a Return of the Board of Agriculture enumerating the agricultural holdings over one acre and not over fifty acres, and the total number of all sizes, in every county in Great Britain. In 1906 there were in Scotland 53,198 not over fifty acres, out of a total of 79,027. Since many holdings of fifty acres or more are rented at less than 50*l.*, the Bill will affect considerably more than 53,198 holdings. The Bill, then, proposes to confer the three F's, with one slight limitation, upon over two-thirds of the land-tenants of Scotland at once, and greatly to increase the proportion hereafter.

There is no reason to suppose that it would be politic to increase the number of small holdings in Scotland to any considerable extent, or that there is a demand for such an increase. Scotland is one of the countries least fitted for such holdings, except in the districts suitable for cheese-making. Further, on account of the comparatively high wages paid to farm-labourers in that country, the demand for small holdings has never been at all brisk. Probably a capable ploughman, stockman, or shepherd in Scotland earns a larger income than three-fourths of the small holders of Great Britain who occupy forty to fifty acres.

In connexion with the figures just given, those relating to other divisions of Great Britain may be added. In England, in 1906, there were 246,934 holdings over one acre and not over fifty acres out of a total of 371,381, or almost exactly two-thirds; and in Wales 41,992, out of 60,425, or slightly above that proportion. These figures do not cover the vast number of allotments.

The arbitrary conduct of the Government in insisting upon the reference of two such vastly important measures as the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill and the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill to standing committees, instead of to the committee of the House of Commons as a whole, is exceedingly reprehensible. This endeavour to hurry revolutionary measures of land tenure through Parliament, however, will afford to the House of Lords even greater justification than it would otherwise have had in rejecting or transforming the two Bills.

The main object of these measures is said to be the repopulation of the rural districts. To a partial extent this object may probably be secured by a judicious apportionment of land among small holders where farming on a small scale is likely to prove remunerative, as such an operation would tend to keep some of the best of the agricultural labourers from migrating to the towns. But, if land now well farmed is taken to any considerable extent from men who employ a fair number of labourers and distributed among small holders, who proverbially 'do the work of two men for the wages of one,' the result will be further depopulation. This consideration points to the desirability of so amending both Bills as to prohibit the taking of land from sitting tenants who are paying their way, who therefore are desirous of retaining it, and who have a reasonable claim to its retention. Hundreds of farms are given up in every county every year; and the taking of land for small holdings should be limited to such farms and others which sitting tenants are willing to leave on receiving fair compensation. But, while such a judicious apportionment of land in small holdings as is indicated above would probably tend to repopulate the rural districts to the advantage of the country as well as to that of those immediately concerned, it would not be safe to proceed very rapidly even on these lines. So long as farming remains as slightly profitable as it is at present, the full restoration of the agricultural population of past periods of prosperity would cause congestion and wide-spread misery. It is important to bear in mind the facts that, under the ordinary play of economic influences, in spite of the efforts made by philanthropic landlords and others to establish small holdings, the number in Great Britain

has decreased slightly in recent years; and that, although they may be multiplied indefinitely by whipping-up possible occupiers and endowing them with means for making a start, it is, in this country, very much easier to establish such holdings than to make them pay.

The land policy of the Government in relation to valuation for rating purposes is not covered or even distinctly indicated by the Land Values (Scotland) Bill, which is only a preparatory measure (as will also be the corresponding Bill for England and Wales, not printed at the time of writing), so far as the principal novelty in it will be concerned. The Scottish Bill simply carries out the recommendation of the Select Committee on Mr Sutherland's Land Values Taxation, etc. (Scotland), Bill of last session, which was supported by the Government. The Committee recommended 'that a measure be introduced making provision for a valuation being made of land in the burghs and counties of Scotland, apart from the buildings and improvements upon it; and that no assessment be determined upon until the amount of that valuation is known and considered.' Although the Committee in their Report pronounce judgment definitely and confidently upon highly controversial points in relation to the rating of site values, the only other recommendation which they make is 'that the Bill referred to the Committee be not further proceeded with.' That Bill, which was warmly supported by the Lord Advocate on behalf of the Government, and passed its second reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 258, is—with the exception of its main principle, that of rating land apart from the buildings upon it—condemned in unsparing terms in the Report of the Committee. The Report, it may be added, was drafted by the chairman, the Solicitor-General for Scotland. It appears, then, that the Government have changed their minds as to methods of procedure; and that Mr Sutherland's Bill cannot now be taken as expressive of their latest fancies in this connexion.

Unfortunately, no comfort can be derived from the official renunciation of Mr Sutherland's proposals, as they have been dropped, not because they go too far in the transference of taxation from buildings to land, but because they

do not go nearly far enough. Mr Sutherland proposed to create a new rate on land values, to be levied on owners of building sites and feu-duties, while retaining the existing composite rating of land and the buildings upon it, charged in Scotland partly upon occupiers and partly upon owners; and his Bill covered burghs only. But this is not carrying a principle, derived from the single-tax mania of the late Henry George, to its logical conclusion. The intention is to charge rates entirely upon land, apart from all buildings and other structural improvements upon it. If Mr George in spirit has cognisance of the plan of his disciples, he must be abundantly satisfied with it; for even he, when living, would have regarded the sudden placing of all taxation upon the land as quite impracticable, and the charging of all rates upon it at one fell swoop as beyond the scope of his most sanguine hopes.

If the Solicitor-General for Scotland and Mr Churchill may be accepted as authorised exponents of the policy of the Government, it is quite clear that this is the object towards the attainment of which the separate valuation of all land (in Scotland, 'divested of buildings, erections, or structural improvements, and fixed or attached machinery,' proposed in the new Land Values (Scotland) Bill, is the first step. A single quotation from the Report just mentioned is sufficient to justify this statement so far as the former is concerned. In the Report as drafted by the Solicitor-General the following declaration appears:—

'The main principle which, in the opinion of your Committee, underlies proposals to tax land values is the setting up of a standard of rating whereby the ratepayers' contribution to the rates is determined by the yearly value of the land which he owns or occupies, apart from the buildings and improvements upon it, the object being to measure the ratepayers' contributions, not by the value of the improvements on the land to any extent, but solely by the yearly value of the land itself. The justification given for the adoption of the new standard is that land owes the creation and maintenance of its value to the presence, enterprise, and expenditure of the surrounding community. The value of the land is not created or maintained by the expenditure or exertion of its

owner, except in so far as he is a member of the community. It is well, therefore, to select a standard of rating which will not have the effect of placing a burden upon industry. Hence the proposal to exclude from the standard the value of buildings and erections of all kinds and fixed machinery. To include these in the standard tends to discourage industry and enterprise. To exclude them has the opposite effect. If, then, the value of bare land, apart from improvements, be chosen as the measure by which to fix contributions to local expenditure, the ratepayer will, it is alleged, be merely restoring to the exchequer of the local authority part of that which he has derived from it. Of this principle, and of the reasoning on which it rests, your Committee approve.'

The entire paragraph is given, notwithstanding its repetitions, in order that there may be no charge of wrenching a short passage from its context, and because it expresses in a perfectly explicit manner views which have been less clearly indicated in speeches by the Prime Minister and other leading members of his party.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman vaguely echoed the arguments of the Solicitor-General for Scotland in his speech at the Land and Housing demonstration in London last April. Referring to the proposed Valuation Bill for England, he said that it would provide for a separate valuation of the land apart from buildings and improvements, and proceeded to argue that this would pave the way for simplifying the process of the public acquisition of land, and for transferring the burden of rates from private industry and improvements to publicly-created wealth, greatly to the increase of house accommodation. Mr Churchill on the same occasion, though at a different meeting, appears to have been more definite. The Valuation Bill, he said ('Times,' April 22, 1907), was required for a threefold object:

'first, to disentangle site values from buildings and improvements; secondly, to adjust rates according to ability to pay; and thirdly, to intercept the future unearned increment in land.'

Further, he complained of the existing system of local taxation as hindering enterprise. 'Houses (he said) were waiting to be born; but the moment they came into the world the sledge-hammer blow of the rates came

down on them and smashed them to powder.' From this remark it is fair to conclude that he desires to remove taxation entirely from houses and to place it exclusively upon land. How he can reconcile such a transference with the adjustment of rates 'in accordance with ability to pay them' it is impossible to imagine. The land of the country, as a whole, is seen to be enormously over-rated already, when the incomes derived from it by its owners and occupiers are compared with those of other classes of ratepayers; and it is obvious that the disparity would be greatly increased by rating occupiers of houses in England and owners and occupiers in Scotland solely upon site values.

In the face of such a monstrously unjust scheme of rating it seems hardly worth while to consider the details of the conflicting evidence as to the fairness or the practicability of rating site values in order to intercept for the future the unearned increment due to circumstances other than the enterprise of the owner. In the abstract this proposition seems fair and desirable; but both the Town Holdings Committee and the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, after giving it full consideration, came to the conclusion that, in view of the complicated interests concerned, the difficulty of valuing sites covered by buildings, and the necessary upsetting of existing contracts, it was not to be recommended.

In this general conclusion a minority Report of the Committee on the Land Values Taxation (Scotland) Bill, drafted by Mr Remnant, concurred; and it is important to notice that three members of the Committee voted for this Report in preference to that of the Solicitor-General for Scotland, which was supported by six members. In the minority Report it is pointed out that the witnesses against the Bill were men of wide business experience and knowledge of affairs, while few of those in favour of it had any such claim to consideration. Attention is also directed to evidence from certain towns showing that the land value is so small in proportion to the total rateable value that even a rate of twenty shillings in the pound upon it would not suffice to cover the public local expenditure. Stress is also laid upon the injustice of taxing feu-duties, recommended strongly in the majority Report, although it is beyond all question that the receivers of

these duties have no interest whatever in any increment of land values arising after the feuing of the property.

The inconsistency of professing to be anxiously desirous to promote the revival of agriculture, while proposing at the same time to impose all rates upon land values, is absurd in the extreme, for the result of such a monstrous imposition would go far towards completing the ruin of that industry. A few years ago Lord Milner, then head of the Inland Revenue department, stated that the annual value of lands rated for local purposes was 49,918,740*l.*, while that of other rateable property, which of course covers ground rents, was 160,640,858*l.* The disproportion against land has increased greatly since the calculation was made; but, if the figures be taken, by way of illustration, as if they were correct for the present time, what is proposed is to charge on property worth about 50,000,000*l.* a year, plus the annual value of ground rents, the entire rates levied on property of the annual value of over 210,000,000*l.* Mr Henry George was fond of assuring his disciples that it was not necessary to take the land from its owners, all that was required being to tax them out of existence. This lesson appears to have been learned thoroughly by the advocates of land values taxation, including the Government.

The truth is that the only equitable method of taking the unearned increment in the value of land for the public advantage, while submitting to not a little decrement, is that of buying out all owners at a fair valuation for the nationalisation or municipalisation of the land; and a similar statement would apply to the Government's plans for the multiplication of small holdings and allotments. For either of these tremendous operations the country is certainly not prepared; and the Government have not the courage to propose either of them. So far, however, as owners of land and other property are concerned, almost any bold measure of socialism would be less harassing and oppressive than the annual crop of semi-socialistic measures which has been the characteristic feature of recent legislation, particularly that of the present Government.

Art. XI.—BRITISH INVESTMENTS ABROAD.

1. *The Stock Exchange Official Intelligence for 1907.* Edited by the Secretary of the Share and Loan Department of the Stock Exchange. London : Spottiswoode, 1907.
2. *The Stock Exchange Daily Official List,* October–December, 1897, and October–December, 1906. Published by the Trustees and Managers of the Stock Exchange, London.
3. *The Mining Manual for 1907.* London : Skinner, 1907.
4. *Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions, 1906.* Two vols. [Cd. 3466, 3529.] London : Wyman, 1907.
5. *Forty-ninth Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue, for the year ended March 31, 1906.* London : Darling, 1906.
6. *Economic Enquiries and Studies.* By Sir Robert Giffen, K.C.B. Two vols. London : Bell, 1904.

ONE of the most important results so far achieved in connexion with the fiscal policy propounded by the Tariff Reform League is the stimulus which has been given to the careful and methodical examination of the statistics of the trade and commerce of the British Empire, and indeed of the whole world. During the discussion which has followed the deficiency of our information with regard to many points connected with these matters was clearly demonstrated. A great deal has undoubtedly been accomplished in the direction of the acquisition of complete trade statistics since Mr Chamberlain first brought his proposals before the public ; and, when the provisions of the Census of Production Act have been brought fully into operation, it may reasonably be anticipated that some extremely useful data with regard to the value and the output of the manufacturing industries of the United Kingdom will be available.

But there is one important matter which does not appear to have been seriously undertaken hitherto, and that is the question as to the total amount and the geographical distribution of British investments abroad.

The importance of this enquiry need hardly be emphasised; it is one which concerns statesmen, merchants, and traders, as well as economists, financiers, bankers, and investors. The income tax returns to some extent cover these points; but, for reasons stated elsewhere, these returns must be regarded as so deficient in many material particulars that they are quite untrustworthy for the purpose of giving a comprehensive idea as to the total of such investments or of the income earned.

It is, and probably always will be, an extremely difficult matter to deal with, owing to the limited and unsatisfactory nature of the data available. There are, however, certain sources of information which, in conjunction with the statements contained in the returns issued periodically by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, enable the careful student of finance to arrive at an approximate idea as to the total amount of British investments abroad and their location. One of the most helpful of these sources of information is the official list of the London Stock Exchange. The total nominal value of all the securities quoted in this list on December 31, 1906, was 9,324,351,897*l.* Of this huge total, colonial and provincial Government securities represented 356,000,000*l.*; foreign Government stocks (payable in London), 1,181,000,000*l.*; foreign Government stocks (coupons payable abroad), 1,668,000,000*l.*; Indian railways, 129,500,000*l.*; railways, British possessions, 195,400,000*l.*; American railroad stocks and shares, 676,700,000*l.*; American railroad bonds, 665,500,000*l.*; foreign railways, 543,600,000*l.*; mines, 33,500,000*l.*; tea and coffee companies, 10,000,000*l.* The groups of securities named above do not by any means exhaust the list of colonial and foreign investments in which British investors are concerned, as many of such undertakings are included in the other headings, such as banking, financial, land and investment, gas, water, and electric lighting, iron, coal and steel, tramway and omnibus, and telegraph and telephone companies.

For the purposes of an investigation of this nature, the London Stock Exchange list, has, however, certain limitations. There are about 40,000 limited liability companies registered at Somerset House; and of this total the London list quotes the securities of only about

1400. It is necessary, therefore, to make use of the official lists issued by the provincial Stock Exchanges, which contain innumerable securities not quoted in London. Even if all these lists are combined, it will be found that many important foreign undertakings have been omitted; and, in order to obtain particulars as to these concerns, it is necessary to have recourse to the Stock Exchange Official Intelligence, which valuable work contains particulars of all the companies, home and foreign, whose securities are dealt in or known on any of the Stock Exchanges of the United Kingdom.

Of course it cannot be urged that the total amount of foreign and colonial securities, 5,500,000,000*l.*, quoted in the London list is held by British investors. For example, although the list quotes foreign and colonial Government securities to the amount of 3,200,000,000*l.*, there is good ground for stating that the amount of such securities held in this country cannot exceed 800,000,000*l.* Then again, American railroad shares and bonds to the total of 1,342,200,000*l.* are quoted in this list; but the amount of such securities held in the United Kingdom can barely exceed one-fourth of this total.

In the majority of cases it is a comparatively easy matter to calculate how much of the capital of British companies engaged in business abroad is owned in the United Kingdom, though in a good many instances difficulties arise. For example, it is generally understood that a considerable amount of the share capital of the Argentine railway companies is held in Buenos Ayres. Again, it is known that French investors own a large proportion of the share capital of the Rio Tinto mines. It may also be pointed out that a large part of the capital of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company is held in Germany, in the United States, and in Canada. It is equally difficult to arrive at an estimate as to the amount of South African mining capital held on the Continent. The amount of colonial and foreign Government stock held by British investors can, however, be approximately stated from the details furnished in the income tax returns, which, it may be pointed out, give complete information with regard to the income derived from holdings of the Government stocks in practically every part of the world; but here it is necessary to make

provision for accidental omissions as well as deliberate evasion. Considerable difficulties arise in connexion with the formation of anything like an accurate estimate as to the amount of American railroad capital held by English investors. The amount of American scrip held in this country varies greatly from time to time; but, after consulting many persons who are in a position to form an opinion upon this matter, the writer has adopted an estimate upon the following basis, namely, that the approximate amount of American railroad bond and share capital held in the United Kingdom is about one-fourth of the total amount of such capital quoted in the official list of the London Stock Exchange, that is to say one-fourth of 1,342,200,000*l.*, or, say, 330,000,000*l.* This estimate is to some extent confirmed by the fact that at the present time one-fifth of the share capital of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company is held outside the United States, that is to say, practically in the United Kingdom. In 1897 over 40 per cent. of the share capital was held outside the United States; but since then the amount of share capital issued has been practically doubled, so that it may be said that the actual amount of Pennsylvania share capital held in this country is about the same as in 1897. No data have been compiled showing the proportion of bonded debt of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company held outside the United States; but it may safely be affirmed that the amount considerably exceeds the share capital so held.

In order to arrive at a fairly accurate idea as to whether such investments have proved profitable, or otherwise, the approximate market value of the securities has been estimated on the basis of the prices ruling during the last quarter of 1906. In the case of non-quoted securities, other than mining shares, the nominal issued capital has been valued at par.

Having defined the bases upon which the principal calculations and estimates have been formed, let us now endeavour to state the results attained; and in the following tables will be found a detailed statement of the approximate amount of British investments in all parts of the world, together with a rough classification of such investments and their approximate market value. For the reasons named above, these figures can only be put

AMERICA.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

—	Government Stocks.	Railways.	Corporation Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.	Mines.	Miscellaneous.	TOTAL.
<i>Canada :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	45·0	164·0	16·1	2·8	24·0	251·9
Market value. . .	<i>46·1</i>	<i>158·0</i>	<i>29·3</i>	<i>3·0</i>	<i>26·0</i>	<i>262·4</i>
<i>United States :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	..	330·0	16·7	7·0	*92·0	445·7
Market value. . .	..	<i>348·0</i>	<i>18·5</i>	<i>15·0</i>	<i>*68·0</i>	<i>449·5</i>
<i>Mexico :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	9·0	18·0	13·4	3·2	11·0	54·6
Market value. . .	<i>7·8</i>	<i>15·7</i>	<i>14·0</i>	<i>6·0</i>	<i>10·0</i>	<i>53·5</i>
<i>Brazil :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	25·0	19·6	5·3	1·0	6·0	56·9
Market value. . .	<i>23·7</i>	<i>22·1</i>	<i>6·0</i>	<i>1·0</i>	<i>6·2</i>	<i>59·0</i>
<i>Argentine :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	41·0	134·9	12·2	..	18·0	206·1
Market value. . .	<i>37·0</i>	<i>143·1</i>	<i>14·0</i>	..	<i>19·5</i>	<i>213·6</i>
<i>Uruguay :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	13·0	10·1	1·4	..	5·0	29·5
Market value. . .	<i>9·8</i>	<i>9·0</i>	<i>1·8</i>	..	<i>4·6</i>	<i>25·2</i>
<i>Chili :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	12·0	8·9	1·0	†18·0	5·0	34·9
Market value. . .	<i>11·1</i>	<i>8·3</i>	<i>1·2</i>	<i>†27·0</i>	<i>5·0</i>	<i>42·6</i>
<i>West Indies, British Guiana, etc.:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	5·2	0·6	..	0·4	6·0	12·2
Market value. . .	<i>5·0</i>	<i>0·5</i>	..	<i>0·3</i>	<i>6·0</i>	<i>11·8</i>
<i>Cuba :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	4·0	15·0	..	..	3·2	22·2
Market value. . .	<i>4·1</i>	<i>14·3</i>	..	..	<i>3·9</i>	<i>22·3</i>
<i>Peru and other South American Republics :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	15·3	3·0	..	0·5	‡25·0	43·8
Market value. . .	<i>6·1</i>	<i>1·8</i>	..	<i>0·5</i>	<i>‡12·0</i>	<i>20·4</i>
TOTAL :						
Nominal amount . .	169·5	704·1	66·1	32·9	195·2	1167·8
Market value. . .	<i>150·7</i>	<i>720·8</i>	<i>84·8</i>	<i>52·8</i>	<i>161·2</i>	<i>1170·3</i>

* Including British holdings of the scrip of the International Mercantile Marine and the United States Steel Corporation.

† Including the nitrate producing companies.

‡ Including the securities of the Peruvian Corporation.

forward as, in many cases, the roughest of estimates; at the same time it may be claimed that they have been very carefully sifted, and that on the whole they present as fair a general statement of the amount and the geographical distribution of our colonial and foreign investments as it is possible to obtain from the available data.

AFRICA.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

—	Govern- ment Stocks.	Railways.	Corpora- tion Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.	Mines.	Miscel- laneous.	TOTAL.
<i>Egypt:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	18·0	1·7	12·1	2·4	16·0	50·2
Market value. . .	<i>18·4</i>	<i>1·5</i>	<i>13·9</i>	<i>1·0</i>	<i>37·0</i>	<i>71·8</i>
<i>West Coast:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	4·2	3·0	1·5	11·0	5·5	25·2
Market value. . .	<i>4·0</i>	<i>3·0</i>	<i>1·7</i>	<i>5·0</i>	<i>6·0</i>	<i>19·7</i>
<i>Cape of Good Hope:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	38·6	1·8	5·5	7·2	14·0	67·1
Market value. . .	<i>38·0</i>	<i>1·6</i>	<i>6·1</i>	<i>38·0</i>	<i>15·0</i>	<i>98·7</i>
<i>Transvaal and Orange River:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	35·0	1·0	11·0	153·0	25·0	225·0
Market value. . .	<i>33·9</i>	<i>1·0</i>	<i>11·2</i>	<i>198·0</i>	<i>22·0</i>	<i>266·1</i>
<i>Natal:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	18·9	0·8	2·6	1·5	6·8	30·6
Market value. . .	<i>18·2</i>	<i>0·7</i>	<i>2·9</i>	<i>1·0</i>	<i>5·4</i>	<i>28·2</i>
<i>East Africa:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	..	5·0	..	..	5·0	10·0
Market value. . .	..	<i>5·0</i>	..	..	<i>5·0</i>	<i>10·0</i>
<i>Rhodesia, etc.</i>						
Nominal amount . .	..	13·6	..	41·0	6·0	60·6
Market value. . .	..	<i>10·7</i>	..	<i>26·2</i>	<i>4·0</i>	<i>40·9</i>
<i>TOTAL:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	114·7	26·9	32·7	216·1	78·3	468·7
Market value. . .	<i>112·5</i>	<i>23·5</i>	<i>35·8</i>	<i>269·2</i>	<i>94·4</i>	<i>535·4</i>

ASIA.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

—	Govern- ment Stocks.	Railways.	Corpora- tion Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.	Mines.	Miscel- laneous.	TOTAL.
<i>India, Burma, and Ceylon:</i>						
Nominal amount . . .	127·6	129·6	8·0	2·3	40·0	307·5
Market value . . .	<i>118·8</i>	<i>145·7</i>	<i>11·0</i>	<i>7·8</i>	<i>39·0</i>	<i>322·3</i>
<i>China:</i>						
Nominal amount . . .	25·0	2·0	3·5	1·0	16·0	47·5
Market value . . .	<i>25·5</i>	<i>2·0</i>	<i>5·5</i>	<i>1·0</i>	<i>16·0</i>	<i>50·0</i>
<i>Japan:</i>						
Nominal amount . . .	54·0	1·0	3·5	..	4·0	62·5
Market value . . .	<i>50·1</i>	<i>0·9</i>	<i>5·0</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>4·0</i>	<i>60·0</i>
<i>Persia, etc.:</i>						
Nominal amount . . .	..	..	1·0	..	3·0	4·0
Market value . . .	..	..	<i>1·0</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>3·0</i>	<i>4·0</i>
<i>Straits Settlements, Borneo, etc.:</i>						
Nominal amount . . .	5·0	..	..	..	10·0	15·0
Market value . . .	<i>5·0</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>10·0</i>	<i>15·0</i>
TOTAL:						
Nominal amount . . .	211·6	132·6	16·0	3·3	73·0	436·5
Market value . . .	<i>199·4</i>	<i>148·6</i>	<i>22·5</i>	<i>8·8</i>	<i>72·0</i>	<i>451·3</i>

AUSTRALASIA.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

—	Govern- ment Stocks.	Corporation Stocks, Bank- ing, Financial, Land, etc.	Mines.	Miscel- laneous.	TOTAL.
Nominal amount . . .	209·1	40·0	41·0	56·0	346·1
Market value . . .	<i>210·9</i>	<i>43·3</i>	<i>38·0</i>	<i>55·5</i>	<i>347·7</i>

EUROPE.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

	Govern- ment Stocks.	Railways.	Corpora- tion Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.	Mines.	Miscel- laneous.	TOTAL.
<i>France, Germany, Hol- land, Belgium, and Denmark:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	3·3	10·0	5·8	..	18	37·1
Market value. . .	3·1	9·0	6·8	..	18	36·9
<i>Sweden and Norway:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	3·0	2·0	0·8	1·5	5	12·3
Market value. . .	2·7	1·9	0·8	1·3	5	11·7
<i>Italy, Austria, and Switzerland:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	8·0	5·0	2·7	..	10	25·7
Market value. . .	7·9	4·7	3·0	..	10	25·6
<i>Spain:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	3·0	5·0	..	19·0	5	32·0
Market value. . .	2·7	3·3	..	36·0	5	47·0
<i>Portugal:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	2·4	..	1·0	1·0	4	8·4
Market value. . .	1·9	..	1·2	1·3	4	8·4
<i>Turkey, Greece, Bul- garia, Roumania, and Servia:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	18·0	11·0	3·0	..	10	42·0
Market value. . .	16·2	10·5	5·0	..	10	41·7
<i>Russia:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	20·0	6·0	3·0	..	15	44·0
Market value. . .	15·7	5·2	3·0	..	10	33·9
TOTAL :						
Nominal amount . .	57·7	39·0	16·3	21·5	67	201·5
Market value. . .	50·2	34·6	19·8	38·6	62	205·2

A summary of the figures contained in the foregoing tables shows that British investments in the five continents of the world are approximately as follows:

—	Nominal amount.	Market value.
America	£ 1,167,800,000	£ 1,170,300,000
Africa	468,700,000	535,400,000
Asia	436,500,000	451,300,000
Australasia	346,100,000	347,700,000
Europe	201,500,000	205,200,000
Total	2,620,600,000	2,709,900,000

That Great Britain's colonial and foreign investments amount to a vast sum has long been understood, but it may be doubted whether it has been generally known that they reach so huge a total as is shown above. Great as this total is it is necessary, in order to obtain a comprehensive idea as to the amount of British capital employed or invested abroad, to make a further addition in respect of the capital engaged by British shipping employed in the colonial and foreign carrying trades, and also of the capital represented by the telegraph, insurance, and other companies, not included in the above tables, carrying on business partly in the United Kingdom and partly in the Colonies and foreign countries, which cannot, of course, be geographically apportioned. It must further be borne in mind that no provision has been made in the foregoing estimates for the private investments of British individuals in colonial and foreign land and other properties ; and, beyond this again, allowance must be made for the capital employed by the great commercial houses engaged in the trade of India, China, the River Plate, Brazil, Chili, the United States, and other great countries of the world. Altogether it would be safe to assume that the aggregate total, including these items, probably well exceeds 3,150,000,000*l.*

From the figures furnished in the foregoing tables it would appear that our foreign and colonial investments have proved moderately favourable, the total nominal value of 2,620,600,000*l.* having been increased to an estimated market value of 2,709,900,000*l.* It is necessary, however, to point out that the actual results achieved are very much better than these figures would imply, because the total nominal amount includes a considerably larger sum

than has actually been subscribed by British capitalists and investors. Only a few illustrations can be given here with regard to this point, but they will indicate pretty conclusively how large a sum must be included in the total as representing paper capital only. In the case of the Nitrate Railways Company, 765,000*l.* of the share capital includes nominal additions upon the conversion of stock into shares; while in the case of the United Railways of the Havana, the share capital has recently been watered by them to the extent of 1,270,000*l.* by nominal additions. In the case of these two companies alone there has therefore been an addition to the nominal capital of over 2,000,000*l.*, which was not subscribed by British investors. To take another illustration, it may be pointed out that the common and preferred stocks of the United States Steel Corporation were introduced into this country at a very considerable discount. Then, again, the shareholders of the White Star Line received nearly 11,000*l.* for each 1000*l.* share of the Oceanic Steamship Company, of which 4000*l.* was paid in cash and the balance in common and preferred shares of the International Mercantile Marine Company.

Turning to another section of the market, we may point out that all the ordinary stock of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada was issued at a huge discount—the last issue of stock having been made at 75*l.* per cent. discount. It is also necessary to emphasise the fact that most of the foreign Government loans have been issued at substantial discounts; and that enormous additions have been made, particularly in recent years, by the funding of arrears of interest and dividends. Finally—and this is perhaps the most important consideration of all—a very material portion of the nominal capital of our colonial and foreign investments represents capital allotted to vendors for goodwill or in payment of concessions, etc. Having regard, then, to all these circumstances, it may be safely affirmed that, so far as the capital valuations are concerned, Britain's foreign and colonial investments have proved exceedingly remunerative. The question as to the income which it may be estimated is derived by this country from its investment of capital abroad will be considered later.

The geographical distribution of these investments cannot fail to excite a feeling of admiration for the enterprise, foresight, prudence, and sound practical sense of British investors as a whole. Generally speaking, they appear to have grasped the danger of putting too many eggs into one basket; and the figures contained in the foregoing tables show clearly that the fairest and most productive portions of the world are being developed largely, and in many cases entirely, by British capital. This spreading of investments over practically the whole world has the further advantage that any great commercial depression, any great failure of agriculture, or any outbreak of war or revolution, does not involve such serious consequences to this country as would ensue if an undue proportion of our investments had been placed in that portion of the world where such events occurred. And, as a matter of fact, the commercial depression of one portion of the world is nearly always set off by the prosperity of some other portion in which we are interested. For example, during the Russo-Japanese war, considerable depression was experienced in the Far-Eastern trade, but, on the other hand, there was great prosperity in the Argentine and the United States. At the present time the depression in South Africa is acute, but the abundant prosperity of Canada is beyond question. Again, while the unrest in India and Egypt is creating a certain feeling of nervousness which may ultimately lead to unfavourable business conditions, holders of Australasian securities are greatly cheered by the promising state of business in the Commonwealth. It cannot be doubted that, if France had made a world-wide distribution of her foreign investments, instead of placing so large a portion of her capital in Russian securities, she would be far richer even than she is to-day.

The more closely this question is studied by investors, the more convinced they are likely to become as to the advantages to be derived from a wide geographical distribution of capital. Of course caution must be exercised; and money should not be invested in a country which has reached a point when it may reasonably be anticipated that its commercial prosperity shows a tendency towards contraction.

In order to show the growth and the direction of

British investments abroad during the past decade, similar tables have been prepared giving the estimated amounts for the year 1897, the details being as follows:

AMERICA.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

—	Govern- ment Stocks.	Railways.	Corpora- tion Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.	Mines.	Miscel- laneous.	TOTAL.
<i>Canada :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	33·0	89·0	11·8	0·8	6·0	140·6
Market value. . .	34·5	61·0	13·3	1·0	6·8	116·6
<i>United States :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	..	240·0	9·5	4·0	62·0	315·5
Market value. . .	..	172·0	8·7	5·6	50·0	236·3
<i>Mexico :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	7·0	12·0	3·2	0·5	4·0	26·7
Market value. . .	6·2	7·4	3·0	0·6	3·9	21·1
<i>Brazil :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	18·0	18·7	4·5	0·5	4·0	45·7
Market value. . .	13·6	14·2	5·3	0·3	3·7	37·1
<i>Argentine :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	31·0	69·7	8·8	..	8·0	117·5
Market value. . .	23·0	62·9	7·5	..	7·3	100·7
<i>Uruguay :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	10·0	8·6	2·1	..	2·8	23·5
Market value. . .	4·7	5·2	2·4	..	3·6	15·9
<i>Chili :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	10·0	8·6	0·7	7·1	3·0	20·4
Market value. . .	8·5	6·7	0·6	4·9	2·7	23·4
<i>West Indies, British Guiana, etc. :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	3·4	0·6	..	..	4·0	8·0
Market value. . .	3·7	0·7	..	..	4·0	8·4
<i>Cuba :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	..	3·8	..	..	1·0	4·8
Market value. . .	..	2·2	..	..	1·0	3·2
<i>Peru and other South American Republics :</i>						
Nominal amount . .	14·1	..	..	..	25·0	39·1
Market value. . .	3·1	..	..	..	3·6	6·7
TOTAL :						
Nominal amount . .	126·5	451·0	40·6	12·9	119·8	750·8
Market value. . .	97·3	532·3	40·8	12·4	86·6	569·4

AFRICA.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

	Government Stocks.	Railways.	Corporation Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.	Mines.	Miscellaneous.	TOTAL.
<i>Egypt:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	29·0	..	1·0	..	12·0	42·0
Market value. . .	<i>30·5</i>	..	<i>1·2</i>	..	<i>30·0</i>	<i>61·7</i>
<i>West Coast:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	..	..	0·5	..	3·0	3·5
Market value. . .	<i>..</i>	..	<i>0·6</i>	..	<i>3·1</i>	<i>3·7</i>
<i>Cape of Good Hope:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	28·0	..	1·5	6·5	7·0	43·0
Market value. . .	<i>31·9</i>	..	<i>2·9</i>	<i>26·7</i>	<i>8·4</i>	<i>69·9</i>
<i>Transvaal and Orange River:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	2·5	..	2·0	123·0	15·0	142·5
Market value. . .	<i>2·7</i>	..	<i>4·7</i>	<i>321·0</i>	<i>18·0</i>	<i>346·4</i>
<i>Natal:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	5·0	..	0·8	0·5	2·0	8·3
Market value. . .	<i>5·9</i>	..	<i>1·0</i>	<i>0·4</i>	<i>2·0</i>	<i>9·3</i>
<i>East Africa:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	..	..	..	..	3·0	3·0
Market value. . .	<i>..</i>	..	<i>..</i>	<i>..</i>	<i>3·0</i>	<i>3·0</i>
<i>Rhodesia, etc.:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	..	..	..	18·3	5·0	23·3
Market value. . .	<i>..</i>	..	<i>..</i>	<i>21·6</i>	<i>6·0</i>	<i>27·6</i>
TOTAL:						
Nominal amount . .	64·5	..	5·8	148·3	47·0	265·6
Market value. . .	<i>71·0</i>	..	<i>10·4</i>	<i>369·7</i>	<i>70·5</i>	<i>521·6</i>

ASIA.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

—	Government Stocks.	Railways.	Corporation Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.	Mines.	Miscellaneous.	TOTAL.
<i>India, Burma and Ceylon:</i>						
Nominal amount . . .	106·0	93·4	5·0	1·4	26·0	231·8
Market value. . .	<i>111·0</i>	<i>141·0</i>	<i>7·0</i>	<i>6·2</i>	<i>29·0</i>	<i>294·2</i>
<i>China:</i>						
Nominal amount . . .	15·0	..	1·5	..	10·0	26·5
Market value. . .	<i>16·8</i>	..	<i>2·8</i>	..	<i>11·5</i>	<i>30·6</i>
<i>Japan:</i>						
Nominal amount . . .	10·2	..	1·0	..	2·0	13·2
Market value. . .	<i>8·3</i>	..	<i>1·7</i>	..	<i>2·0</i>	<i>12·0</i>
<i>Persia, etc.:</i>						
Nominal amount . . .	..	..	1·0	..	3·0	4·0
Market value. . .	..	..	<i>0·8</i>	..	<i>3·0</i>	<i>3·8</i>
<i>Straits Settlements, Borneo, etc.:</i>						
Nominal amount . . .	..	..	..	..	5·0	5·0
Market value. . .	..	..	..	..	5·0	5·0
TOTAL:						
Nominal amount . . .	131·2	93·4	8·5	1·4	46·0	280·5
Market value. . .	<i>135·6</i>	<i>141·0</i>	<i>12·3</i>	<i>6·2</i>	<i>50·5</i>	<i>345·6</i>

AUSTRALASIA.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

—	Government Stocks.	Corporation Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.	Mines.	Miscellaneous.	TOTAL.
Nominal amount . . .	202·0	36·0	36·5	49	323·5
Market value. . .	<i>221·5</i>	<i>36·5</i>	<i>43·0</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>353·0</i>

EUROPE.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

	Govern- ment Stocks.	Railways.	Corpora- tion Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.	Mines.	Miscel- laneous.	TOTAL.
<i>France, Germany, Holland, Belgium and Denmark:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	18·0	18·0	3·0	..	25	64·0
Market value. . .	17·1	16·7	4·5	..	25	63·3
<i>Sweden and Norway:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	8·0	2·0	..	0·5	3	13·5
Market value. . .	8·7	1·6	..	0·5	3	13·8
<i>Italy, Austria, and Switzerland:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	12·0	15·0	2·0	..	12	41·0
Market value. . .	10·8	12·0	3·0	..	12	37·8
<i>Spain:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	8·0	6·0	..	16·0	7	37·0
Market value. . .	6·0	3·0	..	20·0	7	36·0
<i>Portugal:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	8·0	..	..	0·5	5	13·5
Market value. . .	2·3	..	..	0·4	5	7·7
<i>Turkey, Greece, Bul- garia, Roumania, and Servia:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	31·0	10·2	5·0	..	8	54·2
Market value. . .	26·2	9·8	6·5	..	8	50·5
<i>Russia:</i>						
Nominal amount . .	24·0	6·0	..	..	12	42·0
Market value. . .	24·9	6·1	..	..	12	43·0
TOTAL:						
Nominal amount . .	109·0	57·2	10·0	17·0	72	265·2
Market value. . .	96·0	49·2	14·0	20·9	72	252·1

It is quite impracticable within the limits of a single article to touch even lightly upon all the noteworthy features brought out by a comparison of the two groups of figures; it will, however, be desirable to direct attention to some of the broad general conclusions which may be drawn.

Of the many important points revealed the most striking is perhaps the growth of these investments;

and in the following table the details of the principal changes during the past ten years have been summarised.

(Amounts in millions of £. Market values in italics.)

	America.		Africa.		Asia.		Australasia.		Europe.	
	1906.	1897.	1906.	1897.	1906.	1897.	1906.	1897.	1906.	1897.
<i>Government Stocks.</i>										
Nom. amount	169·5	126·5	114·7	64·5	211·6	131·2	200·1	202·0	57·7	109·0
Market value	150·7	97·3	112·5	71·0	199·4	135·6	210·9	221·5	50·2	96·0
<i>Railways.</i>										
Nom. amount	704·1	451·0	26·9	..	132·6	93·4	..	..	39·0	57·2
Market value	720·8	332·3	23·5	..	148·6	141·0	..	..	34·6	49·2
<i>Corporation Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.</i>										
Nom. amount	66·1	40·6	32·7	5·8	16·0	8·5	40·0	36·0	16·3	10·0
Market value	84·8	40·8	35·8	10·4	22·5	12·3	43·3	36·5	19·8	14·0
<i>Mines.</i>										
Nom. amount	32·9	12·9	216·1	148·3	3·3	1·4	41·0	36·5	21·5	17·0
Market value	52·8	12·4	269·2	369·7	8·8	6·2	38·0	43·0	38·6	20·9
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>										
Nom. amount	195·2	119·8	78·3	47·0	73·0	46·0	56·0	49·0	67·0	72·0
Market value	161·2	86·6	94·4	70·5	72·0	50·5	55·5	52·0	62·0	72·0
TOTAL.										
Nom. amount	1167·8	750·8	468·7	265·6	436·5	280·5	346·1	323·5	201·5	265·2
Market value	1170·3	569·4	535·4	521·6	451·3	345·6	347·7	353·0	205·2	252·1

TOTAL ESTIMATED VALUE OF BRITISH INVESTMENTS ABROAD, including capital employed by shipping, insurance, and mercantile houses and banking companies, and investments in land, etc.

—	Nominal amount.	Approximate market value
1897	£ 2,400,000,000	£ 2,550,000,000
1906	3,150,000,000	3,220,000,000
Estimated increase during the decade	750,000,000	670,000,000

These figures do not support the general allegation that we are living on capital because our imports exceed

our exports; on the contrary, they afford conclusive evidence that the accumulation of wealth by this country is so great that it is necessary to find an outlet for its profitable investment abroad.

The increase of 750,000,000*l.* shown in the total amount of our foreign investments must not be taken to imply that during the past ten years the average annual amount invested abroad by this country has been 75,000,000*l.* For reasons stated in an earlier part of this article, a considerable proportion of this increase may be taken as representing purely nominal additions. Then again, no inconsiderable proportion of the apparent growth may be attributed to the fact that the more recent books of reference are very much more complete than they were ten years ago; moreover, many private companies in existence prior to 1897 have, during the decade, offered their capital for subscription to the public. But, after making every allowance for these circumstances, it will be conceded that the amount of money invested abroad by this country is a great and rapidly growing total. The extent of the growth of Great Britain's foreign investments is all the more remarkable when consideration is given to the fact that during the two years which followed the outbreak of the last Boer war the export of British capital was substantially diminished. The total amount of capital subscribed for foreign and colonial investment during 1906 was upwards of 70,000,000*l.*; and the total amount for the ten years probably well exceeds 650,000,000*l.*

Of the many influences which have encouraged the investment of British capital outside the United Kingdom, the most potent has undoubtedly been the higher return afforded by such investments. As foreign countries have grasped the benefits which they derive from the opening up of their commerce and industries with the aid of foreign capital, their standard of commercial morality has been raised; and British investors now feel assured that their rights in foreign countries will, with one or two exceptions, be as scrupulously observed as at home. Another important influence which has directed the stream of investment abroad is the fact that, when once an enterprise, such as a railway in a new and fertile country—for example, the Argentine—has

been undertaken, it is necessary from time to time to put further capital into it in order to provide for the necessary extensions and the additional facilities required by the growth of the traffic.

Of the huge increase of 750,000,000*l.* by far the largest proportion has been absorbed by the American continents. The important increase which has taken place in the nominal amount and the current market value of British investments in Canada, the United States, Argentina, and other portions of Latin America, is particularly noticeable. A substantial portion of the total increase of valuations was due to the sensational rise which occurred during the early part of the decade in the price of American railroad shares. Since the close of 1906 a notable fall has taken place in the aggregate market value of these securities, but they are still very much higher than they were in 1897. The Canadian, Argentine, Brazilian, Mexican, and Chilian railway shares also show a material enhancement of values when compared with the prices ruling in 1897. The remarkable rise in the quotation for Hudson's Bay shares has added substantially to the value of our investments in Canada; while the prosperous condition of the copper-mining industry has been followed by a notable increase in the value of American mining shares. Chilian nitrate shares have also increased enormously in value since 1897; and an important but relatively smaller increase has taken place in the market price of Argentine land and investment companies' issues. The improvement in trade and commerce appears, however, to have been widespread throughout the American continents; and even the smaller republics, such as Costa Rica, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, etc., have all contributed to the appreciation in the value of British investments abroad.

The most notable point with regard to our investments in Asia has been the growth of the amount lent to Japan. Owing no doubt in some measure to the unjust terms offered by the Indian Government to the shareholders of the expropriated railways, the Indian railway market does not make nearly such a favourable display as in 1897. The depression in the Indian tea trade has also unfavourably affected the figures of our great dependency. The recent improvement in the tea

trade is a welcome feature; and there seems ground for the belief that this important industry will soon enjoy a large measure of its old prosperity. A considerable amount of British capital appears to be finding its way into China and the Straits Settlements.

The principal feature with regard to our African investments is the enormous depreciation (about 150,000,000*l.*) which has taken place in the market value of Transvaal mining shares; and this notwithstanding the steady progress which has been made by that important industry since the end of the last Boer war. The West African mining industry was practically unknown to the investing public in 1897. In 1900 a considerable amount of capital was subscribed in this country for West African mining ventures; but, since then, the market has undergone many vicissitudes, and the industry now appears to be making substantial headway. The market value of the capital of the De Beers Company has increased enormously since 1897; and the Cape copper-mining industry also appears to be enjoying a large measure of prosperity. The Premier Diamond Mine has added a considerable amount to the market value of Transvaal mining shares.

Although the popularity of Egyptian Government issues appears to be waning in this country, there has during the past five years been a large influx of British capital into Egyptian irrigation, land, and other commercial enterprises. It seems probable, however, that recent events in Egypt may tend to restrict the further flow of British capital into the country, at least for some little time; and, in view of the fanciful prices at which land is now valued in Egypt, British investors will have little cause to regret the diversion of their investments to countries offering less prospect of violent fluctuations in land values. The price of Suez Canal shares, however, is materially higher than it was in 1897.

The commercial stagnation which has prevailed in Australia for several years, owing primarily to the continued drought, is reflected in the foregoing figures; and it will be observed that our investments in the Commonwealth have been practically stationary during the decade. The depreciation in the value of all high-class securities, from Consols downwards, has of course

affected Colonial Government securities adversely ; and this depreciation would unquestionably have been more marked but for the fact that, under the Colonial Stock Acts, trustees are empowered to invest in the nominal and inscribed stocks of practically all the great Colonies. Happily there is now a very much brighter outlook for Australian commerce in general and the wool industry in particular ; and there is every reason to anticipate that the trade and commerce of Australasia are about to enjoy another spell of great prosperity.

Europe is the only continent in which there has been a marked tendency to decrease in the amount of British investments during the period covered by the tables. There is a very noticeable falling off in the holdings of European Government issues and also European railway securities generally. The value of our European mining investments, however, shows a material increase, practically the whole of which may be attributed to the rise in the price of the shares of the Rio Tinto Company. British investments in Russian securities have shown a steady decline for many years past, but there has lately been a tendency the other way ; and there is probably more Russian Government stock in this country at the present time than there has been for a considerable number of years past. A substantial amount of British capital has been invested in the Baku oil industry, with, generally speaking, disastrous results.

The table on the following page shows the nature of our foreign and colonial investments at the end of 1897 and 1906.

It will be noted that not only have British investors spread their investments practically all over the world, but they have contrived to place money in nearly every conceivable form of commercial enterprise. Government issues naturally absorb a large proportion of the total, but during the period under review the greatest expansion of our investment has been in the direction of railway undertakings. Foreign banking and land enterprises also account for a substantial proportion of the growth ; but the increased amounts provided for mining ventures attract most attention. The huge sum invested in these enterprises is one of the most remarkable features revealed by the foregoing tables. It may be pointed out

	Government Stocks.		Railways.		Corporation Stocks, Banking, Financial, Land, etc.		Mines.		Miscellane- ous.	
	1906.	1897.	1906.	1897.	1906.	1897.	1906.	1897.	1906.	1897.
<i>America.</i>										
Nominal amount	169·5	126·5	704·1	451·0	66·1	40·6	32·9	12·9	195·2	119·8
Market value	150·7	97·5	720·8	332·3	84·8	40·8	52·8	12·4	161·2	86·6
<i>Africa.</i>										
Nominal amount	114·7	64·5	26·9	..	32·7	5·8	216·1	148·3	78·3	47·0
Market value	112·5	71·0	23·5	..	35·8	10·4	269·2	2369·7	94·4	70·5
<i>Asia.</i>										
Nominal amount	211·6	131·2	132·6	93·4	16·0	8·5	3·3	1·4	73·0	46·0
Market value	199·4	135·6	148·6	141·0	22·5	12·3	8·8	6·2	72·0	50·5
<i>Australasia.</i>										
Nominal amount	209·1	202·0	..	..	40·0	36·0	41·0	36·5	56·0	49·0
Market value	210·9	221·5	..	..	43·3	36·5	38·0	43·0	55·5	52·0
<i>Europe.</i>										
Nominal amount	57·7	109·0	39·0	57·2	16·3	10·0	21·5	17·0	67·0	72·0
Market value	50·2	96·0	34·6	49·2	19·8	14·0	38·6	20·9	62·0	72·0
TOTAL.										
Nominal amount	762·6	633·2	2902·6	601·6	171·1	100·9	314·8	216·1	469·5	333·8
Market value	723·7	621·4	927·5	523·5	206·2	114·0	407·4	452·2	445·1	331·6

that, notwithstanding the wholesale depreciation which has been experienced in the value of Transvaal mining shares, there has been so considerable an appreciation in the value of our mining investments in other parts of the world—chiefly the diamond and copper mining companies—that mining investments as a whole still show a very satisfactory profit.

The question as to the amount of capital invested by the mother-country in the colonies and dependencies is one of considerable interest at the present time. Taking out separately the figures for the colonies and dependencies, and those relating to foreign countries, we arrive at the following approximate totals, viz.:

	1906.	1897.
Estimated amount of British capital invested in British colonies and dependencies	£ 1,626,000,000	£ 1,182,000,000
Estimated amount of British capital invested in foreign countries	1,524,000,000	1,218,000,000
Total	3,150,000,000	2,400,000,000

It is a curious and significant circumstance that British investments abroad are about evenly divided between our dependencies and foreign countries.

From the foregoing figures it may be assumed that the colonies and dependencies stand to pay the mother-country about 73,000,000*l.* per annum by way of interest upon investments, assuming that the return on such investments is 4½ per cent. per annum. It is worthy of notice in connexion with this question that, while the excess of the value of imports over exports from foreign countries into the United Kingdom during the year 1906 amounted to 120,944,000*l.*, the excess of the value of imports over exports in the case of the colonies and dependencies during the same period only amounted to 28,115,000*l.* From the Board of Trade returns it appears that the net trade balances for the colonies and dependencies and foreign countries respectively for 1906 were as follows :

	Colonies and dependencies.	Foreign countries.
Imports :		
Products	142,185,000	465,723,000
Specie	38,543,000	24,787,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total value of imports . . .	180,708,000	490,510,000
Exports :		
British products	121,341,000	254,234,000
Colonial and foreign products . . .	9,306,000	75,796,000
Specie	21,946,000	39,536,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total value of exports . . .	152,593,000	369,566,000
Excess of imports	28,115,000	120,944,000

Apparently, therefore, the colonies and dependencies sent the mother-country only 28,115,000*l.* in liquidation of their indebtedness for interest (estimated at 73,000,000*l.*). The Board of Trade figures do not, however, give a comprehensive idea of the entire commercial and financial transactions between the mother-country and the colonies. For example, the official returns do not take cognisance of the value of the imports and exports of precious stones ; nor do the returns include a whole host of other commercial transactions which materially affect the balance of trade. The value of precious stones imported during 1906 was upwards of 10,000,000*l.*, the great bulk of which represented diamonds from South Africa. Adding, then, this sum of 10,000,000*l.* to the excess of imports

shown above, it would appear that in one way and another the colonies and dependencies sent us about 38,000,000*l.* towards the discharge of their indebtedness for interest. As to the balance of their estimated indebtedness—35,000,000*l.*—this was presumably met by the excess of the exports from the colonies and dependencies to foreign countries over their imports from the latter. It cannot be claimed that the foregoing statement is anything more than a very rough and incomplete outline of the commercial relations between the mother-country and the colonies during 1906, as it is impossible to go into all the minor questions involved, such as the earnings of British shipping and insurance companies, etc.

It is worth while to consider briefly the effect which this huge investment of capital abroad has in the liquidation of our foreign trade indebtedness. It may be assumed that the average rate of interest earned on the total of say 3,150,000,000*l.* works out at the rate of 4½ per cent. per annum. It may perhaps be urged that this is too low a rate to assume, but it should be borne in mind that, while it is quite true that our investments in Argentina, Brazil, the United States, and Canada are earning from 5 to 6 per cent., and even more, there are included in the total many millions of capital upon which nothing whatever is being earned at the present time. For example, upwards of 100,000,000*l.* are invested in the Transvaal mining industry, upon which no dividends are being paid; and at least 40,000,000*l.* may be included in the total as representing the loans of the defaulting Latin-American States. Moreover, certain of the European States have reduced the rate of interest upon their loans. On the whole, therefore, it is probable that the rate named is a reasonable estimate. If so, an annual income of about 141,750,000*l.* accrues to the United Kingdom in respect of such investments.

A further important source of income which materially affects the trade-balance of the United Kingdom is that of the earnings of our mercantile fleet. On December 31, 1906, there were on the registers of the United Kingdom approximately 10,950 steam vessels of 15,800,000 tons gross and 9800 sailing vessels of 1,675,000 tons gross, making a total of 20,750 vessels with a gross tonnage of 17,475,000. The gross income of this great fleet may be

put down at an average of 6*l.* per ton. The vessels of the Cunard line earn about 12*l.* 10*s.* per ton and those of the Peninsular and Oriental line about 8*l.* per ton. But these are the very flower of the British mercantile marine; and, all circumstances being taken into consideration, 6*l.* per ton appears to be a fair estimate. Upon this basis it may be assumed that the gross earnings of the British shipping during 1906 amounted to about 105,000,000*l.* But it cannot be contended that the whole of the earnings of the British mercantile fleet ultimately reach the United Kingdom. In the first place, there are nearly 100,000 foreign seamen and lascars employed in the industry. The bulk of the earnings of these men unquestionably finds its way ultimately to foreign countries and India. Then again, many British vessels ply between foreign ports all the year round; and their provisioning, dock, and lighting charges, etc., are, of course, paid to foreign and colonial port authorities, lightermen, etc. Suez Canal dues also absorb a considerable portion of these earnings. For the purpose of this calculation it will therefore be assumed that the earnings of British shipping which ultimately reached the United Kingdom in one form or another are approximately 75,000,000*l.* per annum.

Consideration must now be given to another item which adds a substantial sum to the invisible exports of the United Kingdom; and that is the earnings of our great banking and mercantile houses engaged in foreign and colonial commerce. Some years ago Sir Robert Giffen estimated the income which accrues to this country from commissions and brokerages at 20,000,000*l.* per annum. As there has been a considerable expansion in the foreign and colonial trade since this estimate was formed, it will not, perhaps, be unreasonable to assume that our present income from this source exceeds 25,000,000*l.* per annum. Allowance must, however, be made for the interest payable upon foreign investments in British securities, and certain of our foreign and colonial investments, included in the foregoing tables, which are held by foreign investors. French and German holdings of South African mining shares are very large. The amount of American capital employed in electrical traction undertakings and the electrical manufacturing industry, the provision trade, and other important British industries

must also be considerable. The amount of short-loan money employed by foreigners in London is a fluctuating, but doubtless at times a very important amount. It is, of course, impracticable to state with any exactitude the aggregate sum represented by all these items, but it is safe to say that they do not fall short of 150,000,000*l.* to 200,000,000*l.* Of late years the foreign banking business in London has become one of great magnitude; and it will, perhaps, be well to estimate that the income from this business averages about 5,000,000*l.* per annum.

The final and most important question affecting the trade-balance is the question as to the amount of capital invested abroad during the year. From various sources of information it is possible to state that the total amount subscribed in the United Kingdom last year for investment abroad was upwards of 70,000,000*l.* In addition to this amount, Great Britain was a large purchaser of American railroad shares, particularly during the last four months of 1906; and there is ground for the assumption that the value of the purchases of American shares exceeded the sales by about 10,000,000*l.* As, however, there is some reason to think that these large purchases were of a temporary character only, and that the shares have since found their way back to New York, the effect of these transactions on the balance of trade need not be seriously considered. The conflagration at San Francisco involved the British fire offices in an aggregate loss of approximately 11,000,000*l.*; but, as this was altogether an abnormal item, it is not proposed to take it into consideration in connexion with the question of the trade-balance.

It will be convenient now to set out in the following form the various items referred to above.

	£
Total value of imports of produce and specie	671,218,000
Total value of exports of produce and specie	522,159,000
Excess of imports	<hr/> 149,059,000
Estimated amount of capital invested abroad during 1906	70,000,000
Estimated value of imports of precious stones	10,000,000
Estimated interest upon foreign investments in British securities and undertakings, and earnings of foreign banking houses engaged in business in the United Kingdom	13,000,000
	<hr/> 242,059,000

Against which may be set:

(a) Estimated income from colonial and foreign investments	141,750,000
(b) Estimated earnings of British banking and commercial houses engaged in foreign and colonial trades	25,000,000
(c) Estimated income of British mercantile fleet	75,000,000
	<hr/>
	241,750,000

In the absence of detailed information, which could alone be furnished by those engaged in what may be termed our invisible import and export trades, it is impossible to claim that the foregoing statement is anything more than a rough outline of the actual commercial transactions by means of which the balance of trade has been adjusted. Many important transactions have been omitted, for the reason that it is quite impossible to form even the roughest of estimates. The omitted items include *inter alia* the earnings of British subjects resident abroad, and the expenditure of foreign tourists in the United Kingdom. Against these two items a rough set-off is provided by the earnings of foreign subjects resident in the United Kingdom and the expenditure of British tourists abroad. An exact balance cannot therefore be stated for a given year; but it may be fairly contended that the above figures clearly establish the fact that our apparent adverse trade-balance is, as a matter of fact, fully accounted for by the payments due to this country in respect of interest upon colonial and foreign investments and the earnings of our mercantile fleet and our merchant and banking houses; and this after providing about 70,000,000*l.* per annum for investment abroad. This huge yearly investment of money outside the United Kingdom has naturally a great influence upon our export trade; and the growth of our exports to Argentina during the past three years is largely attributable to the great amounts of capital which we have recently expended upon railway construction in that country. As a general rule, it will be found that any large investment of British capital abroad is immediately followed by a marked increase in the value of our exports to the colony or foreign country concerned.

It may, of course, be urged that the amount here estimated as representing our annual income from investments abroad is excessive, as it is about double the sum shown in the report of the Inland Revenue Commissioners

for the year 1905-6. But, upon an examination of this report, it will appear quite within the range of probabilities that the large estimates given above are, if anything, rather under than over the mark. Only certain portions of the income derived by this country from its foreign investments are identified by the Inland Revenue authorities; and these are shown in the following statement (the figures relate to the fiscal year 1904-5):

Income disclosed by agents for payment of interest on foreign and colonial Government securities	£ 29,641,022
Income disclosed by agents for payment of dividends and interest on foreign and colonial companies and corporations	11,859,660
Income disclosed by bankers and coupon dealers in connexion with the realisation of foreign and colonial coupons	10,465,377
Income declared by persons, firms, or public companies to be received in respect of investments abroad without taxation at the hands of agents, bankers, or coupon dealers	4,894,516
Profits of those railways abroad which are owned and worked by British companies with the seat of management in the United Kingdom	9,201,534
Total	£ 66,062,109

The following table shows the growth of this income in quinquennial periods since 1885-6.

Year.	Amount. £
1885-6.	39,025,000
1889-90	52,310,000
1894-5	53,506,000
1899-1900	60,266,000
1904-5	66,062,000

A detailed examination of the figures comprised in the foregoing tables reveals the fact that the Inland Revenue authorities have not yet attempted to ear-mark some of the most important sources of income from colonial and foreign investments; and in their report the Commissioners explain that—

'Beyond this ear-marked figure (66,062,000*l.*) there exists a large amount of income from abroad, which in many cases cannot (in the absence of details which the taxpayer alone could furnish) be identified as such in the assessments, and which is therefore included in the sum of 365,763,420*l.* appearing under the head of "Businesses, etc., Professions, etc., not otherwise detailed." The fact that this unidentified income from foreign countries and British colonies and possessions is of some magnitude will be appreciated when it is considered

that it includes the profits derived from the following sources : concerns (other than railways) situate abroad, but having their seat of direction and management in this country, e.g. mines, gasworks, waterworks, tramways, breweries, tea and coffee plantations, nitrate grounds, oil fields, land and financial companies, etc.; concerns jointly worked abroad and in this country, such as electric telegraph cables and shipping, foreign and colonial branches of banks, insurance companies, and mercantile houses in the United Kingdom ; mortgages of property and other loans and deposits abroad belonging to banks, insurance companies, land, mortgage and financial companies, etc. in this country ; profits of all kinds arising from business done abroad by manufacturers, merchants, and commission agents resident in the United Kingdom.'

It is unfortunate that the Inland Revenue authorities have not been able to devise some method of identifying practically all the income from these particular sources. Mr Asquith's term of office at the Exchequer may be distinguished by an effort to ear-mark all foreign income ; at the same time it would be unfortunate if, in this endeavour, any legislation were to be enacted which would have the effect of restricting the flow of British capital into the colonies and foreign countries. It cannot be questioned that the investment of capital abroad, besides providing a larger return and greater stability of capital values (if properly distributed), has a most beneficial effect upon our general export trade. Indeed it may be said that the expansion of British exports is in a large measure contingent upon the investment of British capital abroad.

Art. XII.—THE LAST COLONIAL CONFERENCE.

Minutes of Proceedings of the Colonial Conference, 1907.

[Cd. 3523.] London : Wyman, 1907.

THE more the proceedings at the recent Conference are studied, the stronger will be the impression of the interest and significance of these remarkable debates. No doubt it will take some little time before the full meaning of the Conference sinks into the public mind ; nor can we hope, in the space at our command, to give even a brief analysis of the whole discussion. Our object is rather to call attention to certain leading features which characterised it throughout, and which are often just as marked and just as instructive in the discussion of minor points and side issues as they are in those central debates which have attracted so much public attention.

The main division of opinion manifested itself clearly at the outset ; and the original line of cleavage was preserved throughout. On the one side was the forward and constructive party—the men who, despite their conventional tributes to the fashionable optimism, were evidently at heart dissatisfied with the existing organisation, or non-organisation, of the Empire, and keen to endow it with at least the rudiments of institutions common to the self-governing colonies and the mother-country. The protagonist on this side was Mr Deakin (Australia), vigorously supported by Dr Jameson (Cape Colony), and generally, though not always, and never quite so decidedly, by Sir J. Ward (New Zealand), Mr Moor (Natal), and Sir R. Bond (Newfoundland).* On the other side were the optimists, the quietists, the conservatives, the men who, perfectly satisfied with their existing autonomy, were indifferent or hostile to the creation of new ‘bonds of Empire,’ and only anxious to ‘leave well alone.’ This party consisted of Sir Wilfrid Laurier (Canada) and General Botha (Transvaal), a

* The above classification refers only to the Prime Ministers. Among the Ministers who accompanied them, Sir W. Lyne (New South Wales) and Dr Smartt (Cape Colony) gave vigorous support to their respective chiefs.

powerful, as it was a very natural combination. These two statesmen, even standing alone, would have been quite strong enough to prevent any serious alteration of the *status quo*. But they were not alone. They enjoyed the unobtrusive but nevertheless decided, and decisive, support of the representatives of the home Government.

At first sight the debate which attracted the greatest amount of public attention, that on preferential trade, may seem to present an exception to the general rule. And in one respect it really was exceptional, for here the attitude of the home Government, which was in the main a reserved and comparatively neutral one, became very pronounced and emphatic. The British Ministers who took the leading part in the discussion of this question, Mr Asquith and Mr Lloyd-George, argued very strongly, and, as every one will admit, with great force and ability, against the very slightest discrimination, on the part of the United Kingdom, in favour of colonial imports. Mr Winston Churchill followed on the same side, though with arguments, as it seems to us, of a much less weighty and effective character. But, so far as the grouping of the parties to the Conference is concerned, the discussion of preferential trade presents, when closely examined, the same features as the rest of the proceedings.

No doubt this is not evident at first sight. Superficially regarded, the division of parties on the question of preference shows all the colonial representatives on the one side, the representatives of the home Government alone on the other. But, on a nearer examination, it becomes apparent that on this question, as on others, the members of the Conference did practically range themselves in the same familiar groups, viz. Sir W. Laurier and Gen. Botha with the British Ministers in favour of the *status quo*, the rest of the colonial representatives in favour of more or less momentous changes.

It is true that Sir W. Laurier and, in a less degree, General Botha gave a certain abstract support to the principle of preference; but neither of them was in the least disposed to press the point strongly against the resistance of British Ministers; and they both had excellent excuses for not doing so. Sir Wilfrid could point to the fact that Canada had been the pioneer in the cause of preference, and that she was still manifesting her faith in that

principle by giving an advantage to imports from the mother-country, although the latter showed not the slightest disposition to give Canada any similar advantage in return. 'With our actions testifying so strongly to our belief in preference (he said in effect), we cannot be suspected of any lukewarmness even if we decline to worry Great Britain to follow our example.' General Botha could say, and say with propriety, that he was too new to the question, and had had too little time to consult his people, to take any decided line, and furthermore, that he was reluctant to urge anything in opposition to what he conceived to be the settled policy of Great Britain.

In these circumstances the real fight for preferential trade was left to Mr Deakin and Dr Jameson, seconded respectively by their colleagues, Sir W. Lyne and Dr Smartt, and supported, in this instance more emphatically than in some others, by Sir J. Ward, Mr Moor, and Sir R. Bond.

We have dwelt at length on the grouping of the members of the Conference because it is, in some respects, the most significant, as it is perhaps the least regarded of its many aspects. There are, broadly speaking, two views of what ought to be the relations of the self-governing States of the Empire to the United Kingdom and to one another, which may perhaps be characterised without offence as the cosmopolitan and the national view. The one view lays most stress on the independence of the parts, the other on the unity of the whole. There is a certain amount of common ground between them. No statesman in these days, however zealous for the consolidation of the Empire, would dream of trying to achieve it by any interference with the autonomy, or any diminution of the status, of the 'self-governing dominions beyond the seas.' On the contrary, as we shall see immediately, it was the advocates of closer Imperial union who, during the Conference, were foremost to assert the claim of the Colonies to the rank and dignity of independent and equal States. On the other hand, there is practically no party of any repute in the Empire that wishes to see a severance of the existing links between the various self-governing States which compose it. From the Imperialist point of view there is a danger of drifting into separation; but it is not alleged that, in

any quarter worth considering, separation is desired or even deliberately contemplated.

But, though the two opposite schools of thought have thus much in common, they are nevertheless deeply divided, alike in sentiment and policy. On the one side are those to whom the greatness and glory of the Empire, in so far as it consists of self-governing communities, appear to be summed up in the fact that the States which comprise it are left free to go their own way. Men of this school are never tired of dwelling on the wisdom of the policy which has resulted in the disappearance of almost all political ties between the mother-country and the Colonies save 'the golden link of the Crown.' The suggestion of creating any new bonds, any common institutions, fills them with alarm. All such suggestions appear to them to involve 'interfering with one another's affairs'; and it is just the absence of such interference which, in their opinion, keeps us all good friends. They rely upon the sentiment of kinship, or where, as in the case of French Canadians and Dutch South Africans, that sentiment is lacking, upon gratitude for the freedom so liberally accorded to the Colonies by the mother-country, and upon a certain similarity of institutions, to preserve, under the nominal headship of the common sovereign, an informal union resting on moral sanctions alone. Their ideal really is, though they may not be perfectly conscious of it, that of a number of separate States, with a common sovereign, perennially friendly, but otherwise quite free to cooperate or not to cooperate with one another, free also to enter into any relation which may suit their individual convenience with foreign nations. No doubt they anticipate and hope that, owing to their long association and common traditions, the States of the Empire will in fact cultivate closer relations with one another than with the rest of the world. But they are prepared to leave that to the arbitrament of time and circumstance, and deprecate any attempt to lay down rules or impose restrictions upon individual freedom of action. 'Let each of us go his own way; then we shall be more likely to end by going in the same direction.' Such is, broadly speaking, their golden rule for preserving as much unity as the conditions of the case permit.

On the other side are the men who still cling to the idea of an organic unity of the Empire, and habitually think of it, despite the looseness of its present constitution, as a single body politic, distinct from the rest of the world. They believe, quite as firmly as those of the opposite school, in the absolute right of each self-governing State to manage its own affairs. They also attribute the strength and cohesiveness of the Empire largely, though not wholly, to the principle of local independence. But they do not believe that by merely following the rule of not interfering with one another we shall attain the maximum of individual strength and prosperity, nor do they find in that purely negative principle a sufficient basis for the protection of common interests or for the defence of any portion of the Empire against external dangers. They are deeply impressed alike with the magnitude of the interests, which all parts of the Empire have in common, and with the dangers to which, in the absence of organised cooperation, they would all be exposed. They are therefore not inclined to rely exclusively upon sentiment, or to regard the cultivation of mutual good feeling as more than an indispensable foundation on which to erect the superstructure of a common policy and common institutions. And above and beyond all these prudential considerations, they are fired by the idea of a great political fabric, the like of which the world has never seen, an Empire 'on which the sun never sets,' not, however, like the Empires of the past, controlled from a single centre or held together by a despotic authority, but a free union of independent though related States, responsible for the peace and good government of nearly one-third of mankind, conscious of a common destiny and animated by a common patriotism.

Be it remembered that we are speaking of tendencies. It is not asserted that every man with any political ideas, or even every man who has given special thought to Imperial questions, can be definitely classified as belonging to the one or the other of these conflicting schools of thought. But the contrast is not the less real on that account, just as the contrast between black and white is not the less real because they are often confounded in various shades of grey. And the closer men come to practical questions, to problems of the actual organisa-

tion of the Empire, as distinct from rhetorical generalities about its grandeur and its unity, the more will they, in fact, divide themselves into these opposite camps. The members of the Conference did so divide themselves, not invariably, not always consciously, but perhaps on that very account all the more significantly, according as their dominant instinct was enthusiasm for the consolidation of the Empire or anxiety to procure complete individual freedom of action for their several States. This is the real explanation of that grouping to which we have sought to direct the attention of our readers. Mr Deakin and Dr Jameson, with those members of the Conference who, in the main, followed their lead, stand out as the Imperial Unionists. They are federalists in sympathy and intention, though no doubt they would, one and all, disclaim any desire or hope of immediate federation modelled on any existing pattern. On the other hand, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and General Botha are for the 'union of hearts' in the sense that they are extremely apprehensive of any more material form of union. They are State-rights men of a very decided type, and in that attitude they have the hearty sympathy of the representatives of the home Government.

It would be interesting, if space permitted, to probe the underlying causes of this divergence of aim, as well as to consider what are likely to be its practical consequences in the future. But the enquiry would lead us too far afield. Suffice it to dwell, as briefly as possible, on one point of special importance. It is very significant, as it is perfectly natural, that the resistance to federalising tendencies should have come from the two members of the Conference who happen not to be of British race. Not that racial sympathy is the only influence making for the closer union of the self-governing portions of the Empire. If it were, we might, having regard to the strength of the French in Canada, and to the now assured predominance of the Dutch in South Africa, look upon closer union as a lost cause. Material interest in the commercial field is a unifying force; anxiety with regard to foreign interference or attack is another; similarity of institutions is a third. But when all is said and done, there would be no British Empire without the cement of the British race, the potent ties of a common language,

common origin, common history and traditions. Where these are undiluted, the tendency to cling to the political organisation which typifies and sustains the unity of the race is strongest, overcoming even distance, that most powerful of all the factors making for separation. Witness the persistence of Unionist sentiment in Australia, and still more in New Zealand, the most remote and the most isolated, but also the most purely British, of all the self-governing States.

In calculating the chances for and against the cohesion of the Empire, this primary fact must always be borne in mind. It is true that in Canada the British element of the population is the strongest element, and that even in South Africa it will always be an appreciable one. But in both cases the political leanings of the men of British race are bound to be affected by their habitual, and in itself laudable, disposition to 'get on' with their French or Dutch fellow-citizens, and the consequent tendency to drop those 'Imperialist' ideals with which the latter have at very best no ardent sympathy. In South Africa especially, where our recent unfortunate policy has had the effect, if not the intention, of driving the British into the arms of the Dutch, that tendency is certain to be greatly accentuated. For many years to come, and perhaps for ever, South Africa must be regarded as a minus quantity in calculating the forces which make for the consolidation of the Empire. No future Imperial Conference is at all likely to see any South African representative of the stamp of Dr Jameson.

What is the practical inference to be drawn from these considerations? Simply this, that since, in the case of Canada, and still more in that of South Africa, the most important of influences making for Imperial unity is comparatively weak, or positively non-existent, it is the more essential to develop all the subsidiary influences. If preferential trade relations are rightly regarded as one of these, there is no time to be lost in bringing that function into play, and it is entirely in our own hands so to bring it. If the people of the United Kingdom were converted to the principle of preferential trade there would be unanimity on this question throughout the Empire. For, though it is true, as we have pointed out, that the representatives of Canada

and of the Transvaal at the Conference did not give any active support to the cause of preference, that attitude was only rendered possible by the fact that the present British Government was known to be inflexibly opposed to it. They affirmed the principle, but against the emphatic negative of Great Britain they were indisposed to make hopeless exertions in its behalf. Reverse the position; imagine a British Government favourable to the principle, and it is perfectly certain that Canada and South Africa would not be drags upon the coach.

So far we have dealt in general terms with what appear to us the salient features of the Conference debates. We may illustrate our conclusions by a few concrete examples. In the forefront of the discussion, and unsurpassed in interest and importance by anything that succeeded it, stands the constitutional question of the nature and functions of the Conference itself. On this point the result of the proceedings has been something very substantial, indeed the only considerable achievement in the whole affair. The first of the twenty-two resolutions 'unanimously agreed to by the Conference' (and it is worth all the rest put together in substantiality) has made the Conference—renamed 'Imperial' in place of 'Colonial'—one of the permanent institutions of the Empire. The great importance of that, as cannot be too often repeated, lies in the fact that the Conference is the only political institution, besides the Crown, which is common to the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies, and in which they all have an equal share. It is the first foundation-stone of the new political structure which Imperialists of the modern school hope to erect, the permanent partnership of the United Kingdom and the younger nations of the Empire. What has now been achieved is that this Conference, so momentous by virtue of its character, if not, for the present at any rate, by its capacity for actual constructive work, has passed out of the precarious experimental stage of its existence. Regular meetings, at intervals of four years, have been provided for; and the composition of the Conference, hitherto wholly nebulous, has been to some extent defined. It is to be in effect a meeting of Prime Ministers, though Ministers

of lesser rank may attend and take part in the debates; but 'each discussion will be conducted by not more than two representatives from each Government, and each Government will have only one vote.'

Opinions may differ as to the value of the permanence thus given to the Conference, but no one can doubt what influences have brought it about. It is due in the first place to the action of the late Government, and especially to Mr Lyttelton's memorable despatch of March 31, 1905, and in the next place to the vigorous line taken at the recent meeting of the Conference by the representatives of Australia, the Cape Colony, and New Zealand. With the trifling sacrifice of the name of 'Council,' which was abandoned to disarm the opposition of Sir W. Laurier, they practically succeeded in establishing the kind of Imperial organ which they contemplated from the first, viz. a purely consultative body, but one of great weight and dignity, inasmuch as all the States are represented in it by the heads of their executive Governments.

No doubt the fact that it is merely consultative explains the reason why the Conference, as a permanent institution, was accepted with so little demur. The Imperial Unionists were fervently in its favour because they saw in it the germ of a real Imperial constitution, the lever by which organised co-operation in matters of common interest might gradually be brought about. The other party acquiesced in it because, so long as it had 'no tittle of executive power,' it did not threaten their cherished principle of complete individual freedom of action on the part of the several States. But, if they were not opposed to the establishment of this new institution, they were far from enthusiastic about it. In the discussion of details they were constantly on the look-out to keep it within bounds—a harmless adjunct of the existing system, not a vitalising and transforming power. It is, for instance, due solely to the initiative and insistence of Mr Deakin that the interval between the meetings of the Conference was fixed at four years instead of five. Sir Wilfrid Laurier emphasised the inconvenience of coming even at the longer interval; and the contrast between his reluctance and the eagerness of the Australian Premier is all the more significant when we remember that the difficulty of attendance arising from distance is at least

four times as great in the case of Australia as it is in that of Canada. The difference of attitude is so marked and so typical that the very words of the two statesmen may with advantage be quoted.

'You cannot meet here (says Sir W. Laurier) except at great inconvenience to some of us, and it is difficult to find a date. . . . I suggested myself six years at the last Conference.' 'At this stage (replies Mr Deakin), with the Conferences in their present rudimentary position, with their uncertain influence, and with the many new factors which may require to be taken into account, it appears to me that four years is rather a longer than a shorter period than would be desirable.'

As this position gained the support of Dr Jameson, Sir Joseph Ward, and Mr Moor, while General Botha was not prepared to contest it—'I have no serious objection (he said) against the shorter period of four years, although personally I think five years would suit me very much better'—Mr Deakin carried his point. 'You will find in practice great inconvenience'—such was Sir Wilfrid's final shot—'but I do not care about it. The point is not worth pressing.'

It is quite true that, as compared with some other questions connected with the constitution of the Conference, the matter was not a vital one. Far more important than the precise length of the interval between the meetings of the Conference was the question of keeping its influence alive during that interval, whether longer or shorter. A body which meets only for a few weeks, whether at a distance of four or five years, can in any case do very little to transform the constitution of the Empire. The experience of the past tentative Conferences is proof sufficient of that. How vast is the range of subjects which have come under their consideration! How small has been the practical result! Hence those, who desired the new institution to be a reality and to become a potent force in moulding the destinies of the Empire, necessarily directed their principal efforts to the creation of machinery by which the energy generated by the Conference might be kept alive and productive between one meeting of that body and another. The Conference, as a permanent institution—so much everybody was prepared to admit—must have some instruments to work

with, some agency to endeavour to carry out the resolutions adopted at one meeting, and to prepare the material for discussion at the next. But, when it came to defining the nature of that agency, the underlying divergence of opinion to which we have so constantly referred, the difference of attitude which leads one school to welcome the Conference with enthusiasm and another to acquiesce in it with doubt, made itself very distinctly felt.

It must be admitted that the discussion at this point became very confused. The forward party cannot be acquitted of not having fully thought out their own proposals or the best way of turning the very genuine difficulties by which they were undoubtedly beset. But, amid the resulting chaos, the difference of tendency remained strongly marked. The object of Mr Deakin and Dr Jameson, who had comparatively the clearest idea of what they were driving at, was the establishment of a new office, the creature of the Conference and responsible to that body alone, entirely outside the framework and free from the control of any existing Government, even the Government of the United Kingdom. But at this point the advocates of the *status quo*, with their devotion to the separate supremacy of the several existing Governments, very naturally took fright. Was not this new body, this independent 'secretariat,' or whatever it might be called, bound to make itself a nuisance to everybody? And it must be admitted that the idea of setting up an office under no control but that of the Conference itself, that is, of a body meeting only once every four years, was, from every point of view, open to objection. Sir W. Laurier at once fastened upon this patent blot. The new office, for which in any case he had evidently no liking, must, as he urged with great force, be under some control which could be constantly exercised.

'If you have a body which is under the responsibility of no one—neither the British Government nor the other Governments interested, the Colonial Governments—you create a state within a state. . . . So long as we are in England it is all right; but if you have a secretarial staff which remains here when you, I, and everybody else goes back to his own country, who is to control and direct that body in the meantime?'

Dr Jameson's answer to this objection was that the

secretariat should be under the Prime Minister, but under the Prime Minister, as he was careful to explain, not in his capacity as head of the British Government, but in his capacity as president of the Conference. And this, no doubt, was, in the circumstances, the best answer and the best solution. But it was not a really satisfactory solution. Moreover, from a tactical point of view, the suggestion was not a happy one, since it was liable to be at once checkmated, as in fact it was checkmated, by the Prime Minister simply declining to undertake the job.

And so the whole thing ended in the establishment of a secretariat which, so far as any one can foresee, will be nothing more than a section of the existing Colonial Office under a new name. Nothing could be further removed than such a result from the idea which underlies the constitution of the Conference itself. The idea of Imperial partnership, of the creation of a new political bond embracing the several self-governing portions of the Empire on the basis of equality in status entirely disappears. We are back again in the old Colonial Office system, and in the atmosphere of Downing Street. No wonder that Mr Deakin and Dr Jameson were deeply disappointed with the result. No wonder that they made vigorous and repeated attempts to obtain some assurance that the promised reorganisation of the Colonial Office should be a reality; that there should be an effective separation between the business of the Crown Colonies and that of the 'self-governing dominions beyond the seas' and of the Conference; and, above all, that the men employed in the latter work should be men having personal experience of the life, the habits of thought, and the administrative systems of the younger nations. But all these efforts were baffled by the bland irresponsiveness of the Colonial Secretary. In the end, Lord Elgin and his permanent advisers retain a free hand to organise and to man the new secretariat precisely as they please. The Conference, whose instrument it is to be, will have no voice at all in these matters. Whether, in these circumstances, the secretariat is likely to become a factor of any importance in the constitutional development of the Empire, may well be doubted. In any case its composition, its tendencies, and the degree of its activity will

depend entirely on the disposition of the British Ministry of the day.

At first sight it may seem amazing that Sir Wilfrid Laurier should have acquiesced in such an arrangement. Here was the doughtiest champion of colonial independence and nationhood accepting a scheme by which the secretariat of the Imperial Conference—a body representative of all the States of the Empire—became a mere branch of a single department of the Government of the United Kingdom. It is impossible to imagine a more complete departure from the stiff and lofty attitude which he usually, and quite rightly, assumes with regard to the rights and the dignity of Canada. Thus, throughout this controversy over the secretariat, it was left to the Imperial Unionists, to the men who are capable of imagining a higher and more comprehensive form of self-government than any at present existing, to fight for the rightful influence and status of all the self-governing dominions.

But, though there is something grotesque in the alliance of Canada and Downing Street to keep down colonial aspirations, the explanation is not far to seek. It lies in the instinctive aversion of both parties from any decided modification of the *status quo*. Downing Street only wanted to be left in peace to go on as at present. Sir Wilfrid only desired that Canada should be let alone. No doubt he would have preferred to have no secretariat at all, as he would possibly have preferred to have no permanent Conference. All these innovations, in his view, savour of 'interference with responsible government.' They tend to encourage 'meddling with one another's affairs.' But, if there must be a secretariat, then clearly it was best to put it under Downing Street, if only to ensure its not being too active or too original. A certain sacrifice of Canadian dignity was worth making in order to save Canada from being overmuch troubled with the solution of Imperial problems, which after all might very well be left unsolved.

Their failure over the question of the secretariat was the heaviest blow which the forward party sustained during the Conference, and went far to neutralise the success achieved in securing the permanence of the Conference itself. And this unsatisfactory position with regard to the secretariat materially affects all the other

subjects, on which more or less affirmative and constructive resolutions were passed, for these resolutions do not as a rule propound definite solutions of the problems to which they severally refer. They are little more than an indication of the lines along which, in the opinion of the Conference, a solution should be sought. All depends upon the vigour and ingenuity with which the suggestions are followed up. If any substantial progress is to be made between now and the next meeting of the Conference, it must be through the work of the secretariat.

On the subject of preferential trade the Conference has reaffirmed the resolution of 1902, one paragraph of which runs as follows :

'That the Prime Ministers of the Colonies respectfully urge on His Majesty's Government the expediency of granting in the United Kingdom preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the Colonies, either by exemption from or reduction of duties now or hereafter imposed.'

The present Government have, of course, made it abundantly clear that, so far as they are concerned, this resolution will remain a pious wish and nothing more. But it matters little; for the question of preferential trade has now reached a stage at which only the 'voice of the people' can decide the issue. And the whole proceedings of the Conference with regard to this question were practically an appeal to the public. It was not to one another, but to the world outside, that the arguments of the contending speakers were addressed, and principally, of course, to the public of the United Kingdom. That was the real aim of the hard and protracted fight which the majority of the colonial representatives made at the Conference to obtain from his Majesty's Government some concession in this matter. So far as the immediate result was concerned, they were doubtless under no illusion. Some of them may have harboured a hope that the final attitude of the home Government would be rather less rigid than it actually proved, but no one could have expected that the present Ministry would agree to any substantial modification of the fiscal system of the United Kingdom. It was not the Government but the nation which the arguments used at the Conference were intended to convince.

Whether these arguments have effected their purpose or not, there can be no doubt that they have made a considerable impression upon the public mind. The intense earnestness of the colonial speakers would alone have sufficed to gain a certain number of converts. Whatever may be thought of the value of their advances, it is unquestionable that they made them with sincerity and that they meant business. Hitherto great reliance has been placed upon the argument that 'there was no colonial offer.' It has needed the cumulative evidence afforded by the debates of the Conference to bring home to us the fact that this view is no longer tenable.

Nor has it only been brought home to us that in this matter the Colonies mean business. It has become apparent that they regard the issue as one of a particularly vital and far-reaching kind, and as affecting a great deal more than the interests of trade. Preference by way of tariff, as it is represented by the most eloquent of its colonial advocates, is only one side, only a part, and perhaps not the most important part, of a comprehensive policy directed to the upbuilding of the Empire, and guided throughout by the principle that the people of all parts of the Empire should, in their mutual dealings, regard and treat one another as different from foreigners. To those who are penetrated with the conception of the wider patriotism, who are capable, in speaking of 'country,' 'citizenship,' and so forth, to think instinctively of the whole Empire, this policy appears a matter of course. Even to the particularists among colonial statesmen it appeals powerfully on the ground of its effect on the development of their several States. Still its most eloquent and convincing statement necessarily comes from men of the former class, because they alone feel and express this policy from a point of view which constantly takes account of the interests of the United Kingdom just as much as of the interests of the Colonies.

To develop the man-power of the Empire—that is the central idea. Have not all parts of the Empire an equal interest in augmenting its population of British race and so increasing its strength and cohesiveness? If so, should not our efforts be deliberately directed to encouraging emigrants from one part of the King's dominions to seek a home in another part instead of straying away

into foreign lands? And would not a preference given to the products of every part in the markets of all the rest be one of the measures most calculated to promote that result, especially a preference given in the home market, with its vast power of consumption, to the products of the young countries with their still vaster capacity of expansion?

By buying of us rather than of strangers (so runs the argument of the colonial statesmen) you will hasten the development of our great untapped resources. Your settlers will be drawn to us instead of going to foreign lands; and you will thus multiply the number of those who are not only your best customers—for experience shows that the Colonies buy five times as much British produce per head of population as foreign countries do—but who are also your fellow-citizens, and, in the last resort, would be your comrades-in-arms. The development of the British dominions across the seas is of greater value, commercially and industrially, to Great Britain than an equal amount of development in countries not under the British flag. And of how much greater value politically, nationally! More population for us, more work for your furnaces and looms at home, and greater strength to us all collectively among the Powers of the world.

Such is the burden of the colonial appeal. In some quarters its earnestness has been made a subject of reproach on the ground that it constituted an interference on the part of the colonial statesmen in British party politics. Could anything be more absurd than such a contention! Is it the fault of Mr Deakin and Sir Joseph Ward that preference has become a party question in this country? Are the mouths of our colonial fellow-citizens to be closed on questions of vital common interest to them and to us because their opinion on such questions may indirectly affect our party controversies here at home? If so, we had better abandon these Conferences altogether, indeed we had better drop the farce of pretending to care about the Empire; for does it not come to this, that the full and frank discussion of Imperial questions by the leading men of all parts of the Empire is to be subordinate to the keeping of the ring for the party fight in Great Britain? Well may we ask, when such a view can be

seriously put forward, as was asked by one of the speakers at the Conference in another connexion, 'Is our party system to destroy everything except itself?'

No doubt the fact that preferential trade occupies so prominent a place at this moment in the party controversies of the mother-country was a great embarrassment to the colonial speakers in discussing the question. That they fully recognised the difficulty and did everything in their power to meet it and to avoid putting their arguments in a form which could readily lend itself to partisan use, is proved by passage after passage in their speeches. What could be fairer, for instance, or more evidently intended to avoid hurting liberal susceptibilities than the following statement of Sir Joseph Ward's?

'New Zealand is most anxious to be kept out of what one might call the hurly-burly of local political warfare either in the old country or in any other portion of the Empire, but it wants to work for bringing about a stronger and better condition of the Empire itself. While on this point I should like to say that it is very much to be regretted that the question of preference is mixed up with that of Protection. It appears to me that there is such a distinct line of demarcation between the two that it is worth while for a moment to place on record my own view as to the great importance of the distinction. . . . If I were a public man resident in England, and with the general knowledge of economic conditions that I possess at the moment, I should be found on the side of those who are fighting for cheap food for the masses of the people. I believe that anything in the way of preference that the Colonies might suggest, if it were calculated to raise the price of food to the masses of the people, ought to be opposed, and rightly so, by the British people. For my own part, if I thought that what New Zealand was urging in that respect was likely to bring about an increase in the price of food-stuffs to the masses of the people of England, speaking as a New Zealander, I would not urge it upon the consideration of the Conference, and I would not urge it upon the attention of the people of New Zealand. But it is because I believe that, with a system of preference upon certain articles between Great Britain and her Colonies such a condition of increasing the price of food would not arise, that I am an ardent supporter of a preferential system between the old country and the newer ones.'

That the speaker felt the embarrassment of his position

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is clear. That he did his best to extricate himself from it without offence is also clear. And this passage is interesting and important for another reason. It is typical of the constant insistence of the colonial speakers that they were not asking the mother-country to make any sacrifice in the interest of the Colonies. Whether their view was right or wrong, there can be no doubt of their honest conviction that the course they were urging upon the mother-country would be of benefit to herself. No doubt, if this view were generally accepted, there would be an end of the controversy. It is possible to argue that, even if the adoption of preferential trade involved some immediate sacrifice to the United Kingdom, it would yet be wise for the latter to adopt it in order to gain other compensating advantages. But it is not possible to argue that, if no such sacrifice at all were involved, we should be reasonable in rejecting it.

So much, no doubt, would be admitted even by Mr Asquith and Mr Lloyd-George. In any case they felt the necessity of concentrating their fire—and a very powerful discharge of artillery it was—upon this central point. It is very easy for the Colonies, who have a protective system—such was the substance of Mr Asquith's argument—to give preference to Great Britain. They do so by reducing some of their duties, that is to say, lightening the burden of taxation upon their people. But it is a very different thing for Great Britain, a free-trade country, to reciprocate that preference. She could only do so by imposing duties that do not now exist upon foreign imports; and that would involve a sacrifice, in the increased cost of the necessities of life and of the raw materials of industry, which she could not afford to make. Situated as she is, dependent upon the outside world for vast quantities of food-stuffs and raw materials, she would find it a crushing burden.

Mr Lloyd-George followed on much the same lines, except that he emphasised more than Mr Asquith the extreme hardship which the poorer classes of Great Britain, the 'submerged tenth,' would suffer under any system which involved even a slight duty on corn.

'That is a very serious thing for our poor people (he said), and that is what I want to press more than anything on our colonial friends. We are not refusing to meet you, I can

assure you. We are anxious in our hearts to do it, but we have here a poor population that you know nothing of. Here numbers of our poor people are steeped in poverty, and we have to think of them. It would be wrong of us, it would be cruel of us, it would be wicked of us, if we did not do it. I am sure, if you realise that it would mean 2s. more for people who are already short of shillings to buy the very necessities of life, you would be the last people in the world to come and beg us to add to the troubles of this poor population of ours. That is really why we are hesitating.'

This plaint, which occurs again and again like a haunting refrain throughout Mr Lloyd-George's long and vigorous address, is in somewhat strange contrast with another side of his argument, which can only be described as a resounding paean over the marvellous and unparalleled prosperity of Great Britain under our present system. It is a contrast with which we are all familiar in the oratory of unyielding anti-preferentialists.

Mr Lloyd-George himself evidently felt the weight of this consideration for he was at pains to contend that it was not so much a 2s. duty he objected to as the 'inevitable' tendency of a low duty to grow into a high one.

'What we are more afraid of than merely a 1s. or 2s. duty is that it will not stop there. . . . Germany is a case in point. Germany started in 1879 with the small import duty of 2s. 2d., which is practically the proposal which is now made for the United Kingdom. She went on to 6s., she went up to 10s., then there was a drop to 7s., and now they have gone back to a still higher figure. That is really what we are afraid of here.'

It might be thought that there really was not much reason for such fear, especially in a country where the agricultural interest is as weak as it is in Great Britain. If the 2s. duty proved anything like the burden which it is assumed, contrary to previous experience, that it would prove, is it not certain that, far from being increased, it would have but a very transient existence?

Moreover, it is still in question whether, as a matter of fact, the consumer would pay the duty at all. The two parties to the argument continue flatly to join issue on this point; and nothing but experience can decide between them. No doubt any number of cases can be quoted in which the imposition of a duty enhanced the price of the

dutiable article by exactly the amount of the duty or something very like it. Cases can also be quoted, though probably fewer cases, in which it has not had that effect. But none of the cases are on all fours with the position which would arise under a system of preference, inasmuch as the whole object of that system is not to tax the total imported supply of a given article but only a portion of it, i.e. the portion coming from foreign countries, not that coming from countries under the British flag.

Mr Asquith and Mr Lloyd-George are certain that the duty would be added to the cost of the article. The advocates of preference are equally sure it would not.

'When you impose an import duty (says Mr Asquith) upon a commodity which is a necessary of life or of industry, and when the commodity is of such a kind that you cannot substantially make up the supply from domestic sources—given those two conditions, and I carefully limit my proposition in that way—sooner or later, though the process may be delayed or deflected for a time, the duty appears in added cost to the consumer.'

Admitting this proposition for the sake of argument, it may still be contended, and is contended with great plausibility by the advocates of preference, that the second of Mr Asquith's conditions does not apply to the present case. What is the assumption implied in the reservation 'if you cannot make up the supply that you want from domestic sources'? Surely this, that there will be a deficiency in the supply of that portion of the article which is not liable to duty. There will be no rise of price if there is a sufficiency of the supply of the untaxed article. But that is just what the colonial statesmen contend that there will be. Their contention is that it only requires time, and, with the encouragement given to colonial production by a preferential system, a short time, for the Colonies to be able to supply the United Kingdom with all the corn it needs. In that case the foreign importer, if he is not to lose his hold on the British market altogether, will have to pay the duty himself. Indeed the question is whether he will not be obliged to do so from the very outset. The fight will be for the market. If the colonial producer, in his eagerness to secure the market, refrains from

adding the duty to his price, the foreigner will not be able to afford to do so. Far be it from us to dogmatise whether this would or would not be the case. But we fancy that many people who are unconvinced by abstract economic arguments would not be sorry to see the question submitted to the test of fact, especially under conditions in which no very great harm could result even if the free importers proved to be in the right.

If we are not prepared to risk even this much, for however great an object, what is there to be said against meeting the wishes of the Colonies by granting them some reduction on duties which already exist, a reduction which could not by any human possibility involve any burden to the British consumer? The speakers on behalf of the Government were profuse in their expressions of a desire to meet the Colonies, if, if only they could do so without inflicting hardship upon 'the poor people' of the United Kingdom. Yet, face to face with the proposal that they should allow these poor people to buy colonial tobacco or sugar a little cheaper than they do at present, they were unable to conquer their repulsion against even that trifling concession.

At this point the great ability which on the whole characterised the arguments of the opponents of preference seems to have completely disappeared. In the first instance an attempt was made to shelve the proposal by arguing that it would be of no benefit to the Colonies. But surely the Colonies must be allowed to judge of that; and their representatives were very emphatic in maintaining that they would be only too glad to get a preference on anything. In the particular case of Cape Colony, it was pointed out by Dr Smartt, and quite unanswerably, that the trade in wine, which has been practically killed by the loss of the preference which it once enjoyed, would be greatly benefited by a reduction of duty; and that all South Africa would be so benefited by a concession to its nascent tobacco industry, which only needs encouragement to have a very considerable future. And the claim of South Africa to reciprocal consideration is a very strong one, inasmuch as the South African tariff not only gives an all-round preference of 25 per cent. to British imports, but has actually placed a duty on certain articles, which were previously quite free, when imported from

foreign countries, while still leaving them free when imported from Great Britain. South Africa is therefore placing an actual burden on her consumers in the interests of British trade. But even this argument made no impression. It only caused Mr Asquith to shift his ground and, abandoning the hopeless contention that preference would be of no advantage to South Africa, to fall back on the sacred principle that it would be wrong to treat the Colonies differently from foreign countries.

'It means (he said) that we are to consider the question whether we shall treat foreigners and the Colonies, as it were, differently; *and that we conceive we are unable to do.*'

Do foreign countries, it may be asked in reply, treat Great Britain as the Colonies do?

So that is the position at the end of all the controversy. The British Government 'conceive that they are not able' as much as 'to consider the possibility' of differentiating between other parts of the Empire and foreign countries, even in cases where, by doing so, they would impose no burden whatever on the people of this country. It would be difficult to put the doctrine of commercial cosmopolitanism in a more repellent form.

One word in conclusion about other matters. It is fair to the British Ministers to say that they evidently felt very uncomfortable at the refusal which the rigidity of their principles compelled them to give to any and every advance on the part of the Colonies with relation to interimperial trade. No kind of concession being possible in the matter of tariff, they over and over again expressed sympathy and promised 'consideration' for a whole host of alternative suggestions, such as better cable communication, 'all-red' steamship services, reduction of the Suez Canal dues, etc. But though, on the strength of these promises, various suggestions were thrown out by Mr Deakin and others, only to be overwhelmed with criticism and finally talked out, the cherished alternatives have so far ended in smoke.

There is indeed one of these which, owing to the insistence of Sir W. Laurier, did get itself embodied in a resolution, and that is the proposal to connect Great Britain with Canada, and through Canada with Australia and New Zealand, by a fast steamship service, towards

the establishment of which 'such financial support as may be necessary should be contributed by Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in equitable proportions.' Since this is a proposal about which Canada is very eager, and which Sir W. Laurier, as is evident from his recent speech at the Dominion Day dinner, does not mean to let drop, it is possible that something may be done.

This steamship service, the recognition of the Imperial Conference as a permanent institution, and the change of its title from Colonial to Imperial, are the total practical outcome of the three weeks' discussion reported in the 622 pages of the 'Minutes of Proceedings of the Colonial Conference, 1907.' For any further progress in the direction of Imperial organisation we shall, it appears, have to wait, in a fast-moving world, till 1911. The interval may see great changes, not only in the internal development of the 'self-governing dominions,' but in the policy adopted towards them by foreign nations. Their growing importance and their great future are attracting more and more attention, especially from our principal rivals in the commerce of the world. Other countries may approach them with offers of those reciprocal trade arrangements which we have not seen our way to encourage. These are disquieting reflections. On the other hand, we may derive some comfort from the abundant evidence of that strong Imperial feeling, that yearning towards the motherland, on the part of the Colonies, which a study of the Conference affords. That feeling, we believe, has only to be more widely understood among ourselves to win a warmer recognition and a more practical response from the British nation than it has hitherto received.

Art. XIII.—PARTY *VERSUS* PEOPLE.

'IN order to give effect to the will of the party which happens at any moment to have a majority in the House of Commons, it is necessary that the power of the House of Lords to alter or reject bills passed by the House of Commons by a majority, however small, should be so restricted by statute that, within the limits of a single Parliament, the final decision of the House of Commons shall prevail.* This in plain terms is the policy of partisanship planned by the Cabinet, and supported by 432 members of the House of Commons. It is open to two fatal objections.

Firstly, it enables a temporary majority of the House of Commons to override the deliberate will of the nation.

This omnipotent majority, when freed from the control of the House of Lords, even though it can outvote the Opposition only by some thirty or forty votes—as was the case in 1893—will be able to pass any law which it sees fit to enact. It may give the parliamentary franchise to every woman who has attained the age of twenty-one. It may set up Home Rule in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland all at once. Each of these changes, be it noted, will, when once made, be practically unalterable. Establish, for instance, universal suffrage, and you never can revert to the household suffrage of to-day. Nor, let us remind Radicals, is there the least reason to suppose that the majority which will hold uncontrollable power will always consist of Liberals or of Free-traders. Protection easily allies itself with Socialism. The members of the Labour party are no disciples of Cobden. Wage-earners, who naturally and rightly enough hate Protection when it threatens to raise the price of food, would look with no unfriendliness on the Protection which promised, e.g. by the exclusion of foreign workmen, to raise the price of labour. The day may easily come when, to the horror of enlightened economists, a temporary majority of some

* The resolution passed by the House of Commons on Wednesday, June 26, last, runs as follows: 'That, in order to give effect to the will of the people, as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that, within the limits of a single Parliament, the final decision of the Commons shall prevail.'

future House of Commons may repudiate all the soundest maxims of Free-trade.

We do not suggest for a moment that an English House of Commons will generally use inordinate or excessive power without regard to prudence or to justice, but we do maintain that a House of Commons, when once it has acquired in matters of legislation as much legal omnipotence as a constitution can confer on any body of men, will assuredly be governed by the party which commands a parliamentary majority, and that no such majority ought to be entrusted with unrestrained power. Grant that, as things now stand, such a majority would not, even if freed from every legal restriction on its legislative action, play at once, or even play at all, the unfamiliar part of a despot. It would try to legislate for the benefit of the country ; it would wish to respect the opinion of the people. But there would be no small danger that the interests of a party would be constantly mistaken for the welfare of the country ; the fanaticism of a faction would be treated as equivalent to the deliberate will of the nation.

It were vain indeed to argue that there is no possibility of a representative assembly overriding the real will of the nation. The parliamentary history of England and the experience of every modern democracy shows that the danger we denounce is both real and pressing. Consult our parliamentary annals. The House of Commons is the most powerful part, though a part only, of our Parliament. This very fact tempts its leaders to speak and act as if the House itself were a sovereign power. In the recent debate on the relation between the two Houses of Parliament the Prime Minister spoke of 'the supremacy of the House of Commons.' The expression is, of course, as every student knows, grossly inaccurate. Supremacy or sovereignty belongs, as a matter of law, not to the House of Commons, but to Parliament, that is, to the King and the two Houses acting together as one legislative body ; and, as a matter of politics, not to the House of Commons but to the electors, or, in current language, to the nation. This is elementary.

But we will not dispute about words. The importance of this inaccuracy of language is that it discovers an ominous condition of feeling. It explains the dislike

entertained by politicians such as the Prime Minister and his colleagues, who believe themselves to be democrats, for the Referendum, which is the most democratic of institutions ; and it betrays that vain belief in the absolute authority of the House of Commons which has more than once led it, and may easily lead it again, into conflict with the will of the nation. The Premier, we see, quotes, and therefore, we presume, reads Burke. Let him continue his studies. He will learn how a House of Commons which, though supported by the King, tried to create by its own authority a new parliamentary incapacity, was defeated by John Wilkes. He may further learn how a coalition in command of a powerful parliamentary majority came into conflict with the King and with the House of Lords and, strange as it may appear, found that, in attacking the Crown and the Peers, the House had defied the sovereignty of the nation. The lesson is impressive. The genius of Burke, misled for once by the passion of partisanship, suggested to himself and to his colleagues the dogma that the King had no moral right to appeal from the votes of the House to the verdict of the people. That fatal error excluded the Whigs from office for well-nigh half a century.

This is ancient history. Let us turn then to the recent experience of 1893-1895. Is there any fair-minded man who dares deny that in those years the will of the nation was represented, not by the elected House of Commons, but by the hereditary House of Peers ? Let us press the point one step further. If in 1893 such a law had been in force as the Premier and his followers wish to enact, is it not certain that Mr Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill might, and in all probability would, have become law ? A Minister as able and as patriotic, to use the mildest terms, as the present Premier, and a majority at least as public-spirited as the Premier's followers, would, if they had possessed the power, have broken up the political union between England and Ireland, and that against the deliberate wish of the people of the United Kingdom.

The teaching of English parliamentary history is more than confirmed by the action of modern democracies. They have learned that the authority of the people needs to be protected against the temporary power of parlia-

mentary majorities. There is hardly a democracy which has not adopted the bicameral system. But this is little. Popular governments have taken the greatest pains to ensure that on all matters of vital importance the Legislature should be compelled, by one means or another, to pay deference to the deliberate will of the nation. France has, for the first time since the great Revolution, found in her Senate a Second Chamber of real weight. Her constitutional laws can be changed only by her two Chambers sitting and voting together as one National Congress; her President is appointed by their joint vote. Switzerland is the most successful of European democracies. No change in her constitution is possible without the Referendum, i.e. a distinct appeal to the vote of the electors. Further, her citizens may always insist that any federal law shall, before it comes into force, be submitted to the Swiss people for their sanction.

To the all but immutable constitution of the United States, which is the idol of American citizens, a mere allusion is sufficient. It is worth while, however, to note, because it is often forgotten, that no change in the constitution of any State of the Union is, speaking broadly, possible except by a very elaborate system of legislation leading up to and ending in a direct appeal to the vote of the people. Glance for a moment at the elaborate provisions whereby the Commonwealth of Australia ensures not only that the articles of the constitution* shall not be altered without an appeal to the electors of the Commonwealth, but also that no law, as to the expediency of which the Houses of the Australian Parliament disagree, shall be finally passed otherwise than by the Senate and the House of Representatives sitting, debating, and voting together as one body.† These things speak for themselves. Under every democratic government the truth is perceived to which English Liberals are at this moment blind, that a country dare not entrust absolute power to the temporary majority of one elective legislative body. The people must eternally stand on guard against the usurpations of party.

The second fatal objection is that the policy of partisanship portends three evil results.

* Commonwealth Act, § 128.

† Ib. § 57.

It lowers the whole character of Parliament. The Peers and statesmen, such as were Lord Salisbury and Lord Goschen, such as are the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Rosebery, Lord Crewe, Lord Courtney, and a dozen more who guide the opinion of the country, will find that with the destruction of their legislative power must fall their political authority. The sound conservatism of the nation will be deprived of its best leaders. The paralysis of the House of Lords would be a far greater evil than its abolition. The one weakens the whole body politic; the other would improve the House of Commons by enabling it to draw to itself the wisdom and the leadership of the most eminent among our statesmen.

The worship of party threatens Englishmen with a calamity which for more than two centuries they have never known. They will learn what is meant by reaction. The evil of the delays of beneficial legislation, caused in part but not wholly by the existence of the House of Lords, have been balanced by one great compensation; reaction has been made impossible because no fundamental change has been carried through till it has commanded the complete assent of the nation. The resistance of the Peers to the great Reform Bill brought the country near to civil war; but this resistance, ill-advised though it was, enabled Peel to accept completely the reform which he had opposed to the utmost of his power.

Lastly, success in the attack on the House of Lords is not the end but the beginning of constitutional revolutions. A practical revival of the so-called veto of the King, a diminution in the power of Parliament to change the bases of the constitution, the introduction into the English constitution of some form of the Referendum, which might in itself be a benefit to the country, all become possible. Any change will in the long run be welcomed which secures to the nation its rightful authority. Whatever party leaders may say or do, final victory will, in the contest between party and people, assuredly lie with the nation.

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